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No. 126 OCTOBER 1959



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The Scottish Historical Review

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Dingwall Burgh Politics and the Parliamentary Franchise in the Eighteenth Century

THERE has been some diversity of opinion as to the political role of the Royal Burghs in the eighteenth century. Writing of Scotland at the time of the Union, G. M. Trevelyan has baldly stated that they 'were all of them as "rotten" as the rottener part of the English boroughs'¹; and has been as categorically refuted by G. S. Pryde who maintains that it is 'an error to speak of "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs in Scotland'.² That the Royal Burghs, however, were corrupt in both their municipal and parliamentary aspects will admit of no question, though as far as the return of Members of Parliament is concerned our problem abides. Precisely in what fashion were they corrupt; and in particular were they, or were some or any of them, 'rotten' burghs? The consensus of opinion now would seem to be that they were not,³ but most recent pronouncements on the topic (*obiter dicta* mainly at that) do little more than echo Porritt's verdict: 'I have not discovered a single well authenticated instance of the nomination for a Scotch group of burghs being sold for money, as was so frequently and openly the case with the representation of English boroughs.'⁴ Consideration of some episodes in the political history of Dingwall, one of the burghs in the Northern or Kirkwall or Wick District, would suggest that such a view is too confined and simple to be definitive.

¹ G. M. Trevelyan, *Ramillies and the Union with Scotland*, 180. It seems a fair inference here that, if Dr Trevelyan is right, the Union was hardly calculated to make them purer.

² G. S. Pryde, ed., *Treaty of Union*, 10.

³ See *English Historical Review*, lxxv, 552, for a short review of Dr Pryde's *Treaty of Union*, in which Dr Trevelyan in large part accepts Dr Pryde's views.

⁴ E. and A. Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons*, ii, 140.

As Porritt noted, burgh patrons were common in Scotland,¹ and in the period with which we are concerned Dingwall never seems to have lacked attention from this species of politician. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Cromartie Mackenzies, then at the height of their brief spell of power, held sway; but their influence was of the seventeenth-century type, personal rather than venal, and unfortunately for them the 'spoils system' arose soon after the Union precisely at the time when they were declining in wealth, prestige and connections.² This notwithstanding, from 1707 until 1716 they maintained their hold on the burgh, although the Northern District proved too much for them to carry.³ But already, in 1710, the rot had set in when, in that year, the Northern Burghs returned to parliament Robert Munro the younger of Fowlis, the scion of a family famous in Easter Ross⁴; and thereafter Munro worked away steadily consolidating his hold. Two factors probably led to his capturing the town council of Dingwall: one was the unremunerative High Tory politics of the Mackenzies, and the second, probably a consequence of this, was a compact entered into, in or about 1716, between Munro and Kenneth Bayne of Tulloch, a prominent neighbouring landowner who had a large interest in the burgh.⁵

The family of Bayne of Tulloch was long the key to the burgh's politics, and as a result of this compact Munro began to dominate the council from 1716 onwards. Part of the

¹ E. and A. Porritt, *op. cit.*, ii, ch. xxxviii *passim*.

² For this noble family generally, see Sir William Fraser, *The Earls of Cromartie*; for their influence on Dingwall in the early eighteenth century, see Norman MacRae, *Dingwall's Thousand Years* (consisting largely of excerpts from the burgh records), 203 et seq.

³ They failed to carry the Northern District in 1708, largely because Tain was dominated by Lord Ross, who was a bitter enemy of the Mackenzies and a ceaseless source of annoyance to them. For this election, see *House of Commons' Journals*, xvi (28 Nov., 1708), 18—Petition of Sir James Mackenzie of Royston (third son of the first Earl of Cromartie); and Fraser, *op. cit.*, ii, 71 et seq.

⁴ For Colonel Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, see Alexander Mackenzie, *History of the Munros of Fowlis*, 117-38, a poor work but adequate for this purpose; *D.N.B.*; for his parliamentary career, the brief notice in Joseph Foster, *Members of Parliament, Scotland*, 260.

⁵ Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 1392, Delvine Papers, f. 170, Copy of a letter from Sir Robert Munro to Bayne of Tulloch, no date (but from internal evidence certainly 1740) in which this compact is mentioned. See too, Session Papers, Signet Library, vol. 76:11, 'Criminal Letters against Sir Robert Munro and others'. I am indebted to the Society of Writers to the Signet for access to this invaluable collection, and to the Society's Librarian, Dr Malcolm, and his staff, for much helpful advice.

compact stipulated that at least five Munros should always be on the council which, by the revised sett registered with the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1710, was limited to fifteen.¹ Thus entrenched, it was now the turn of the Munros to monopolise offices, and the Provostship for several years alternated between young Fowlis and his brother, Captain Munro of Culcairn.² But by 1721 the Mackenzies and their friends were rallying and preparing the ground for the parliamentary General Election of 1722; as a consequence, the Michaelmas elections of 1721 in most burghs in the north-east were tempestuous, and various subterfuges and stratagems were pressed into service.³

The numerous shady tricks in Dingwall culminated in what can only be called a military expedition on the part of the Munros against the dissident councillors, allegedly to ward off a threat of armed interference from the Mackenzies. Throughout, Colonel Munro acted in a very high-handed manner, particularly in arresting three of the councillors of the opposite faction, supposedly for non-payment of debt. The design to maroon them (for the nones) on Orkney broke down, and, aided by a mob of indignant termagants, they managed to escape and attend the election on the following day. Determined not to be baulked, however, the Munros on that day invaded Dingwall in force, to the strength of thirty or forty horse and over a hundred foot. The party hostile to Munro, foreseeing this possibility, had prudently begun their election before the appointed hour, but, before they could complete their measures the Colonel caught up with them and, at pistol-point, forcibly took over the meeting and its minutes. The field thus cleared, the Munros then proceeded to make an election that was more to their taste. Robert Munro younger of Fowlis was, very naturally in the circumstances, unanimously chosen Provost, and equally suitable candidates were elected to the magisterial offices.

It is a revealing commentary on the looseness of election law at this time that although Colonel Munro and his brother Culcairn were tried before the Circuit Court at Inverness,

¹ For the revised sett of the burgh, see *Miscellany of the Scottish Burgh Records Society*, 230.

² MacRae, *op. cit.*, 207 et seq.

³ *More Culloden Papers*, ed. D. Warrand, ii, 210 et seq., 'Local Intrigues, 1721-22'; Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 68, Taylor Collection, Item vii, 'Depositions describing disturbances at Dingwall and Nairn'.

found guilty of plagiarism in respect of the three councillors, and fined £200 sterling each, their election was not voided.¹ Munro was once more elected for the Northern Burghs in 1722 and his election sustained, despite protests to the House of Commons by his rival, Robert Gordon.² But all was not quite plain sailing for Munro in the burgh of Dingwall, for from October 1721 until October 1725 two *soi-disant* councils existed in the burgh and each year saw a double election.³ At Michaelmas 1725 these differences were composed and a coalition of councils took place, which was probably the happy result of a donation of £105 sterling made by the Colonel to the burgh. By 1727 old wounds had so far healed that Kenneth Bayne of Tulloch (namesake and successor to the person who had entered into the compact, but one of Munro's main adversaries in 1721) was elected delegate to the parliamentary election meeting, where he faithfully abided by instructions. Colonel Munro was again returned and this time the election was not disputed.⁴

For twelve years thereafter the Fowlis-Tulloch combination ruled the burgh without apparently meeting any real opposition; but in 1739 measures were secretly concerted against Munro by some of his more powerful neighbours, chief of whom were Mackenzie of Kilcoy and Kenneth Mackenzie, titular Lord Fortrose and heir of the Earl of Seaforth who had been forfeited in 1716.⁵ Fortrose hated Sir Robert Munro, as he then was, with a bitterness unusual in eighteenth-century politics (which for the most part were played like a boisterous game) but of a kind well known in Highland tradition. These schemers brought pressure to bear upon Kenneth Bayne of

¹ For these events see Northern Circuit Book (1722-4), Reg. Ho., 'H.M. Advocate against Colonel Robert Munro and others', under date 2 May 1722; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, 121-7 gives a very confused account, mixing up the events of 1721 and 1740; MacRae, *op. cit.*, 209-11.

² *Commons' Journals*, xx, 43, Petition of Robert Gordon, in which he alleges that he was properly elected but that the returning officer was bribed by Col. Munro not to accept his (Gordon's) return. On 7 February 1722/3 (*ibid.*, 150), the House ordered that no further election petitions were to be considered and Gordon's petition was one of those passed over.

³ Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Mackenzie against Scott, Respondents' Proof', 25 July 1759, Appendix, p. 57, 'Copy Excerpts from the Council Books of the Burgh of Dingwall'.

⁴ MacRae, *op. cit.*, 219. From subsequent entries it appears that the burgh's affairs could not well have proceeded without the Colonel's money.

⁵ The main source for these, and the ensuing events is Session Papers, vol. 76:11, 'Criminal Letters against Sir Robert Munro and others'. For Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord Fortrose, see *The Scots Peerage*, vii, 512.

Tulloch, who was an indigent and feeble man, and at the Michaelmas election of 1739 Sir Robert, to his surprise and chagrin, found that the majority of the council revolted and actually had the temerity to depose two of the baronet's friends. Disturbed at this, and apprehending further resistance to his will, Sir Robert wrote to Tulloch a few days before the Michaelmas election of 1740, remonstrating with him at the ungrateful trick played on him at the last election and seeking assurances for the future. He was ready to settle any differences and to 'act on ye old Bottom of Friendship', though cut to the quick at the 'Cruelty of the usage I had last year not to tell me of your Concert till I was in the Councill house a place where no stone had been laid without me'.¹

On the failure of his efforts at reconciliation, Sir Robert felt it necessary to undertake another *coup de main* to safeguard his parliamentary interest. This gave rise to another armed expedition and to some incidents similar to those of 1721, incidents which are *picaresque* and amusing to modern eyes but which were then merely the small change of elections. This time, however, matters got out of hand. Armed with captions against his principal opponents on the council,² Sir Robert had forcibly arrested the ten who opposed him and had had them carried off to Tain, where his interest was secure, there to languish in jail until the election was safely over; at Dingwall in the meantime Sir Robert and his friends had made an election that met their needs. The people of Dingwall, enraged at these proceedings, inveighed threateningly against Sir Robert and his henchmen who, most likely in panic, fired on the crowd, killing one woman (Mrs Mackenzie, wife of Alexander Mackenzie, one of the abducted councillors) and wounding several other women and children.³ The whole countryside was at once roused by this act of stupid brutality, the Mac-

¹ Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 1392, Delvine Papers, f. 170, 'Copy of a letter from Sir Robert Munro to Bayne of Tulloch, 27 September' (no year, but clearly 1740).

² Full details of these captions are contained in Delvine Papers, vol. 1392, and especially ff. 138-40, 'Condescendance of the dilligence raised against Baine of Tulloch and others'.

³ So confused have been previous accounts of this tragedy that MacRae, *op. cit.*, 217-18 seems to question whether it ever happened at all. But the records of the High Court of Justiciary leave no room for doubt. See Session Papers, vol. 76:11, 'Criminal Letters against Sir Robert Munro and others'; also Delvine Papers, 1392, ff. 141-6, 'Abridgement of Precognitions': especially the depositions of Colin Mackenzie, minister, of John Heard, of Daniel Mackenzie, surgeon, and of Donald Simpson.

kenzies in particular howling for vengeance. Politics apart, their chiefs, the Earl of Cromartie and Lord Fortrose, felt the grievous affront to 'The Name' and wrote to Mackenzie of Delvine, a prominent legal agent, charging him to swear out criminal letters against Sir Robert and his friends.¹ This was done, but Sir Robert countered by swearing out criminal letters of his own against the other faction for riotous assembly and resisting due execution of law. Two rival criminal processes resulted, which dragged on for a time but were ultimately dropped and settled out of court.²

Due to some extent to the notoriety of this affair, Sir Robert Munro's parliamentary career came to an end in 1741, when his rival Charles Erskine of Tinwald, the Lord Advocate, was returned by the Northern Burghs. Sir Robert petitioned, with partial success, against the return of Erskine.³ From his petition it appears that Tulloch's election in 1740 had been sustained, but that in 1741 the council of Dingwall had been ill enough advised to commission the Earl of Cromartie as delegate to the parliamentary election meeting, thus infringing electoral law which forbade a nobleman to participate in shire or burgh elections. Sir Robert was quick to see the opportunity afforded him by such an oversight, and this, coupled with the fact that Sinclair of Ulbster was irregularly commissioned as delegate for Wick, made up the substance of his petition to the House of Commons. He further argued that two of Erskine's votes were disqualified and a third, that of the preses, Brigadier Sinclair, of dubious validity. *Ergo*, Sir Robert Munro must have been duly elected since he alone had two good votes, namely, those of Tain and Kirkwall. It was a gallant try and achieved some success, in that Erskine's return was quashed; but the House decided against Sir Robert's election and a warrant for a new writ was ordered on 3 March 1742.⁴ Erskine, however, who had been a keen supporter of Sir Robert Walpole did not choose to stand now that the great minister had fallen. Further, it was a matter of considerable moment for the new

¹ Delvine Papers, 1357, f. 1, 'Lord Fortrose to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 16 October 1740'.

² The cases were heard on 23 February 1741 (Book of Adjournal, Series D, 1739-42, p. 572); both diets were deserted with concurrence of parties on 2 March 1741 (*ibid.*, pp. 576-8). That an agreement was reached is proved by Delvine Papers, 1392, ff. 160-9, 'Scroll Discharge to Sir Robert Munro'.

³ *Commons' Journals*, xxiv (15 Dec. 1741), 23-24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4 for decision of the House on the petition; p. 108 for the new warrant.

administration that a Lord Advocate should be returned to parliament at once, and the Northern Burghs offered the best means of securing this end. The Marquis of Tweeddale, Secretary for Scotland, obtained the appointment of Robert Craigie, a diligent and experienced lawyer, as Lord Advocate and wrote to him assuring him of an easy passage in the Northern Burghs. 'I have,' wrote Tweeddale, 'obtained assurances from the Earl of Sutherland and Lord Fortrose of their Interest in these Towns on your behalf; and I hope the Earl of Morton and Colonel Douglas will be prevailed upon to concur, which will make your attempt easy'.¹ Sutherland on the same day wrote to Craigie asking him to stand for 'My Towns', an interesting phrase but as events were to show somewhat hyperbolic.²

On 3 March 1742 Fortrose wrote to Mackenzie of Delvine, who was acting as political agent, acquainting him of the new move and incidentally giving us an interesting glimpse of 'influence' at work. 'This Morning I promised to the Marquis of Tweeddale all the Interest I had to Mr. Robert Craigie for represent ye Burghs etc. I have already got a Promise of a Pair of Colours for Tullochs Son—probably Sir Robert Monro may still offer Money for Dingwall. I know Tullochs Situation wants it therefore if you think proper you may represent his Case to Mr. Craiggie. All elections costs money nowadays.'³ This was followed up on 6 March by another letter from Fortrose to Delvine intimating that, as Sir Robert Munro had given out that he meant to have either Wick or Dingwall whatever the cost, Delvine ought to approach Craigie 'and tell him that he must give three, or four Hundred Pound to the Town of Dingwall to make his Election quite sure considering Sir Robert Is content to give two Thousand. Insist hard with Craigie, what Is It to one who gets 1500 a year.'⁴ Fortrose at the same time pleaded his own poverty, which was real enough, and also made it clear that this was Craigie's business if he wished to represent the burghs. Should he refuse, Sutherland of Forss was to stand in his place.

This seems to be a clear and well authenticated instance of a burgh, if not a District of Burghs, putting up its vote for

¹ G. W. T. Omond, *The Lord Advocates of Scotland*, ii, 7, quoting from 'Tweeddale to Craigie', 2 March 1742.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8, 'Earl of Sutherland to Craigie, 2 March 1742'.

³ Delvine Papers, 1357, f. 21, 'Fortrose to Delvine, 3 March 1742'.

⁴ Delvine Papers, 1357, f. 22, 'Fortrose to Delvine, 6 March 1742'.

sale. In any event, except in very unusual circumstances, it is difficult to envisage a District of Burghs hawking its franchise,¹ since the constituent burghs within any one group were often at variance. In this case, however, Craigie seems to have accepted the situation, for, whether he fell in with the whole of Fortrose's plan or not, he was duly elected for the Northern Burghs on 2 April 1742.² That his election entailed certain obligations on his part was soon apparent, the Baynes reminding Delvine of their claims on the successful candidate. Ronald Bayne of Delnie, Tulloch's brother, wrote to Delvine that Craigie ought to be sensible of the favours he had received, and 'I hope he'll have gratitude; one ought not to Forgett Doing Something for the poor place. . . . I have not the least Doubt of your Fulfilling your promise towards Tulloch & me for we Relay too Much upon it. . . . I hope a Strick Friendship will Continue twixt us.'³

Alas for Delnie's hopes, his brother fell foul of Kenneth Mackenzie over the latter's attempt to rebuild his old patrimonial interest in the county of Ross, and as a result both Tulloch and Delnie soon felt the weight of Fortrose's displeasure, manifested as usual by savage dunning for old debts.⁴ Tulloch, indeed, was in a bad situation; he was deep in debt and among his principal creditors was also numbered Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis. All that preserved his estate at this time was the problem of the ranking of creditors. Other fortuitous circumstances came to his aid: he was, for example, helped by the eclipse of the Cromartie Mackenzies as a result of their ill-judged participation in the Rebellion of 1746; and Sir Robert Munro, a stout Hanoverian, was killed at Falkirk. This considerably eased the pressure on Tulloch and left the way open for a reconciliation between him and young Sir Harry Munro. Sir Harry, more student than soldier, was a gentler soul than his father had been, and he seems to have

¹ The small East Neuk Burghs of Fife were notoriously venal, and were accused in 1778 of selling themselves as a group to the highest bidder. See *Scots Magazine*, xl, 5-6, 'Letter on Borough Elections in Scotland', where the writer asserts that it is well known that burgh elections are carried by illegal practices and instances the recent case of the East Neuk Burghs where a complete stranger was returned after a great deal of bribery. ² Ormond, *op. cit.*, ii, 9.

³ Delvine Papers, 1142, f. 7, 'Delnie to Delvine, 16 April 1742'.

⁴ For an instance of this, see Delvine Papers, 1357, f. 102, 'Fortrose to Delvine, 22 December 1743', where the vindictive Fortrose writes of the hapless Tulloch: 'My intention is to ruin totally his Family, that his Children may remember who it was their Father disoblighd'.

treated his debtor leniently,¹ although in 1751 the pressure of other creditors led to the judicial sequestration of the estate.² The details are little to the point, but that Alexander Mackenzie who had been a councillor in the faction manhandled by Munro in 1740, was appointed by the Court of Session factor upon the estate is, as we shall see, both of interest and consequence.

The renewal of the alliance between Tulloch and Fowlis seems to have met with no effective opposition in the burgh until 1757. Sir Harry Munro, despite his preoccupation with Buchanan, sat for the Northern Burghs from 1747 to 1754 and again from 1754 to 1761³; but by 1757 he was losing his influence and two new interests had begun to contend for control of Dingwall and ultimately the parliamentary constituency. In that year Colonel John Scott of the Third Regiment of Footguards, then sitting Member for the shire of Caithness, began to insinuate himself in to the council.⁴ He was rich, well connected in Scotland, and supported locally by Mackenzie of Kilcoy and other magnates.⁵ This was a powerful lever because since 1746 Kilcoy had been one of the burgh's leading political figures.⁶ More remotely, and at first glance more importantly, Scott was also a ministerial candidate, favoured by the Duke of Newcastle and the Duke of Argyll.⁷ His needs were both

¹ See A. Mackenzie, *History of the Munros of Fowlis*, 139-46 for a brief account of Sir Harry, who seems to have devoted more time to his edition of Buchanan's *Psalms of David* than to the Northern Burghs.

² Session Papers, vol. 49:7, 'Memorial for Alexander Mackenzie, Merchant in Dingwall, Factor on the Sequestrated Estate of Tulloch, 12 January 1760'.

³ Joseph Foster, *Members of Parliament, Scotland*, 259-60.

⁴ For Colonel John Scott, see Foster, op. cit., 306; *D.N.B.* under Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet—'Sir John's male descendants became extinct in the person of Major-General John Scott, M.P. for Fife, his great-great grandson, who at his death on 24 January 1776, was reputed the richest commoner in Scotland.' In 1773 he married Margaret, daughter of second Lord President Dundas and niece of the famous Henry, with whom Scott in his last years was politically very intimate (Omond, *Arniston Memoirs*, 187-9). By his marriage he left three daughters, and the extent of his fortune may be gauged from the fact that the portion of each of the younger girls was £100,000. One of them married George Canning and it was her fortune that helped him to rise from comparatively humble beginnings (*D.N.B.*, s.v. George Canning). Contrary to the usual run of luck Scott's fortune was said to have been made largely from cards and dice.

⁵ Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Answers for Col. Scott and others', 7 December 1758, p. 12; also *ibid.*, 'Observations for Col. Scott and others', 15 January 1759, p. 5.

⁶ N. MacRae, *Dingwall's Thousand Years*, 218 et seq. In 1746 Kilcoy was elected Provost.

⁷ As may reasonably be inferred from the rather disjointed entries in 'The Pocket Book of Sir John Gordon', *Nat. Lib. Scot.*, MS. 108, pp. 364-5.

simple and pressing, as indeed were those of his rival, Sir John Gordon of Invergordon.¹ Each of them represented a 'paired county', Colonel Scott sitting for Caithness and Sir John for Cromarty. In the next parliament both these counties would be unrepresented, Bute returning a Member in place of Caithness and Nairnshire in place of Cromarty. The rivals, then, were casting about for a new constituency and not unnaturally settled upon the Northern Burghs, the more so as Sir Harry Munro was by then known to have fallen upon hard times and to be no longer *persona grata* with the administration.²

Scott was further aided by the fact that he was Lord Mansfield's cousin,³ whereas Gordon was not only in straitened circumstances financially but burdened by the fact that he was a member of that amorphous group known as the Prince's Party. Newcastle's difficulties following the loss of Minorca forced him to enter temporarily into closer relationship with Lord Bute and the Leicester House coterie,⁴ and on this rather shaky foundation Gordon built his hopes. He soon discovered its inadequacy; for indeed the Leicester House group was always distrusted by Newcastle (not without reason) and, like Bubb Dodington, Sir John Gordon found the alliance a dangerous one. As well as this, two things boded ill for Sir John. First, Mansfield had greater claims on the ministers than had Bute; and secondly the quarrel between Bute and his uncle Argyll promised nothing that was good for those in Scotland who relied upon the Groom of the Stole. In addition, Sir

¹ For Sir John Gordon, see Foster, *op. cit.*, 152; J. M. Bulloch, *The Families of Invergordon, Newhall, etc.*, p. 27 et seq. He was an experienced politician whose father had managed to capture the small 'paired county' of Cromarty in 1741; on the father's death in 1742, by dint of some unscrupulous manoeuvring, Sir John maintained his interest in Cromartyshire until displaced by William Johnstone (later Pulteney) after a savage election contest that raged between 1765 and 1768. Information on this is in various volumes of Session Papers, not in Bulloch. Sir John was a well-known place-hunter and in 1745 was made Secretary of the Principality Lands in Scotland.

² See 'Pocket-Book of Sir John Gordon', p. 361 et seq., in which is given the substance of conversations which Sir John Gordon had with Lord Hardwicke and the Duke of Argyll in London, on 21 November 1757, and 1 December 1757, respectively, and from which it plainly emerges that Sir Harry Munro had fallen from grace.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 364; *G.E.C.*, viii, 387.

⁴ For the various twists and turns of Newcastle and Hardwicke from their resignation as ministers in November 1756 until Hardwicke managed to form a new ministry on 18 June 1757, see L. B. Namier, *England in the Age of the American Revolution*, 55-58; P. C. Yorke, *Life and Correspondence of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke*, ii, 367 et seq.; Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, ii, 249 et seq., and iii, 29 et seq.

John—a peppery, assertive, little man—like Bubb and the rest of the coterie put too high a value upon himself and expected too much. An inveterate diarist (Bulloch aptly termed him a Ross-shire Pepys) he was forever committing his thoughts to paper, and his summary of conversations held in the last months of 1757 with Hardwicke and Argyll is very revealing. All was to be done to smooth his way, and Scott, a mere adventurer without any 'natural interest' in the Northern Burghs, could use his wealth to shift for himself elsewhere. If, claimed Sir John, Lord Morton could be prevailed upon to secure Kirkwall for him he would carry the District of Burghs; and as he somewhat optimistically put it to the Duke of Argyll, 'Dornoch and Wick I suppos'd conditionally engag'd agst Me but concluded for Me Tayne certain Dingwall probable.' The Duke seemed startled at this intelligence, whereupon Sir John proceeded to press his supposed advantage. 'I observ'd the Event improbable, in which Baillie Mackenzie had said he would join Kilcoy for Col. Scott, But if said Event happen'd, own'd it in that Case probable that I should lose the Vote of Dingwall, But if it could be made a void Vote, Tayne the returning Burrow & Kirkwall would carry the Election.'¹

The event that was to decide Bailie Mackenzie's allegiance was Colonel Scott's projected purchase of the debt-laden estate of Tulloch. Once Scott's purchase was completed the Bailie was to be continued as factor on the estate and, moreover, parts at least of the lands of Tulloch were to be leased to him on very easy terms.² But, as Sir John pertinently jotted in the ever-ready notebook at some unspecified time in 1757, 'What if Sale of Tulloch put off, or Col Scott not be the Purchaser.'³ Burghmongering in eighteenth-century Scotland was not such an infallible science that an election contest of considerable severity could not arise from the hopes of such as Bailie Mackenzie and their threatened disappointment. There is a

¹ 'Pocket-Book of Sir John Gordon', p. 365.

² 'Pocket-Book of Sir John Gordon', p. 368; also Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Pursuers' Proof', p. 25, 'Deposition of Andrew Robertson'. At a meeting of several councillors in Bailie Mackenzie's house on the night before the election of 1757, the Bailie demanded that Scott should make him factor on the estate once the purchase was made. To this the Colonel was forced to agree. To some extent the Bailie's anxiety was probably to prevent a close examination of his factory since 1751. See Session Papers, vol. 49:7, 'Creditors of Bayne of Tulloch against Alexander Mackenzie', from which it appears that the Bailie had been misappropriating funds.

³ 'Pocket-Book of Sir John Gordon', p. 368.

lesson here. The concurrence of the great men in London, the winning over of the local lairds and burgh big-wigs, plus the wealth of a favoured candidate were not necessarily sufficient to decide the issue. The small men who sat upon the town councils, men like Alexander Mackenzie, although overshadowed by the parliamentary politicians, and for the most part manipulated by them, emphatically were not ciphers. Their greed, ambitions, vanities, hopes and fears had all to be catered for.

Both candidates understood this: for, as it was later delicately put for Colonel Scott in the Court of Session, a candidate 'will certainly endeavour by all Means to conciliate the Regard and Affection of his Electors'.¹ The way to the hearts of eighteenth-century electors is well known today, nor was it veiled in any mystery at the time. Unlike his military predecessor in the burgh, Scott put persuasion first and force a very poor second. Among the means adopted by him were: the settlement of an annuity of £20 upon the indigent Provost Bayne of Tulloch, who was now blind as well as ruined; the gift of £100 sterling 'for use of the poor of the community' which was handed over to Bailie Mackenzie, who at this point had high hopes of the estate of Tulloch; and the bestowal of the office of Clerk to the Justices of the Peace of Ross-shire upon the town clerk of Dingwall, Andrew Robertson.² The intermediary in these matters was Mackenzie of Kilcoy,³ and the object, of course, was to secure a sufficient party to obtain Scott a sure footing on the town council. Tulloch, in a quandary whether or not to support his old patron, Sir Harry Munro, at first opposed Scott's nomination for the council but, on receiving scant hope from Sir Harry, he conformed, although he resisted, unsuccessfully, the purging of Fowlis from the council.⁴ 'Such,' as the

¹ Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Observations for Col. Scott, 15 January 1759', p. 6.

² Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Petition and Complaint of John Mackenzie of Brae and others, 28 November 1758', pp. 5-6. The account there given is to be preferred to that in *Select Decisions, 1752-68* (Lord Kames), 216-7, which is repeated in Morison's *Dictionary of Decisions, 1877 et seq.* According to the latter, the above acts of bribery did not take place until 1758, but the evidence adduced for Mackenzie of Brae disposes of this idea.

³ Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Petition of Mackenzie of Brae, 28 November 1758', p. 5.

⁴ For Tulloch's wavering, see Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Answers for Col. Scott, 7 December 1758', p. 13; that he opposed the purging of Sir Harry Munro, *ibid.*, 'Respondents' Proof, 25 July, 1759', p. 12, 'Deposition of John Mackenzie of Brae'. That Sir Harry was deposed, see MacRae, *op. cit.*, 221.

other party later sarcastically observed,' was the substantial Interest by which the Colonel procured himself to be elected and received as a Member of the Council, at the annual Election which happened on the 4th of October 1757.¹

Sir John Gordon in the meantime was also busy, although not to such purpose as his adversary. His activities were confined to displaying a letter from Lord Bute recommending the baronet to the electors, to approaching Alexander Mackenzie (who sat on the fence trying to judge on which side it would best pay to alight), and to persuading the minister of Dingwall, Adam Rose, and his good lady to solicit in his (Gordon's) favour. Among other things, Mrs Rose attempted to win over Roderick Morison, a councillor, but Sir John's past was against him. Apparently at a recent General Election (most likely in 1747 when Cromarty, which was then virtually Sir John's 'pocket county', was unrepresented) the baronet had declared himself a candidate for the Northern Burghs and had provisionally engaged Dingwall in his interest. Unluckily for the burgh, Sir John had failed at Kirkwall, and Dingwall lost £100 sterling that had been offered by his rival. Morison on this occasion feared a like consequence.² Rose gave as his reason for supporting Sir John a zeal for buttressing the Established Church, especially as those in opposition to Invergordon 'did not countenance its Gospel ordinances'; and later it was alleged by Charles Hamilton-Gordon, Sir John's advocate brother, that five of the opposite party 'suffer their children to be baptised by non-jurant Clergymen'.³ Sir John indeed was a staunch Presbyterian, whereas many of the people of Easter Ross were at that time stubborn non-jurors. The established clergy were thus for him to a man; and later, shortly after the Michaelmas election of 1758, the Synod of Ross fulminated against bribery and the swearing of false oaths in a manner that made it clear to whom these criticisms applied.⁴ That party was not Sir John Gordon, who ostentatiously, if sincerely, observed 'the Gospel ordinances'.

¹ Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Petition of Mackenzie of Brae, 28 November 1758', p. 6.

² Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Pursuers' Proof', p. 41, 'Deposition of Roderick Morison'.

³ Ibid., 'Pursuers' Proof', pp. 44-46, 'Deposition of Adam Rose, minister of Dingwall'.

⁴ Ibid., 'Pursuers' Proof', pp. 113-15, 'Copy Act of Synod of Ross against Perjury'.

Whilst Sir John was using these spiritual weapons Scott was busy rendering unto Caesar the things that were properly Caesar's. 'Pawkie' (as the Colonel, perhaps anticipating John Galt, signed himself to his intimates) had a bluff hearty manner which went down particularly well with the ladies, especially when reinforced with guineas. The opposite party later bitterly animadverted in the Court of Session on the Colonel's influence with the ladies, and the charge was not denied. The Colonel, indeed, rather gloried in his conquests, admitted he was partial to the fair sex, but pertinently enquired which statute or constitutional principle this offended. In particular, Tulloch's daughter was forward in the Colonel's bribing operations, and secured one of the councillors, Donald Bayne, for £90. Kilcoy snared another, Alexander Cameron, for a like sum, while Dean of Guild John Robertson was bribed by the promise of a waiter's office. Attempts were also made to win over by similar means Donald Morison, Treasurer, and his brother Roderick, Councillor. The latter's daughter, who worked at Kilcoy, 'was more than once sent to make an offer of eighty Guineas to them'.¹ These offers were spurned, and finally William Fraser, an ex-Bailie and Sir Robert Munro's old comrade-in-arms but now an agent for the Colonel, 'offered to them any Sum not exceeding £100 Sterling'. Fraser was very persuasive, and among other things told them, 'That many honest and good Men had done the like, and why should they be singular? That if they did not soon accept, the Colonel would get his Job done without them; That this was a fine round Sum for Families in their Condition; and that they might regret that they had missed such an Occasion when it was too late'.² All was to no purpose. The brothers were incorruptible, or, as the sequel will show, were already corruptly attached to the other interest or hoping to be so. In fact, the real stumbling-block in Scott's path turned out to be the erstwhile complaisant Bailie Mackenzie into whose hands the Colonel had resigned the £100 sterling in September 1757. Mackenzie in the meantime had been approached by Sir John

¹ Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Pursuers' Proof', for details of these acts, e.g. Deposition of Kenneth Mackenzie Tacksman of Kilcoy, the laird's brother, and specifically for the bribing of Bayne by Tulloch's daughter, pp. 5-6. There is no doubt whatever of the truth of the statements made in the 'Petition of Mackenzie of Brae', in Session Papers, vol. 57:6.

² Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Petition of Mackenzie of Brae, 28 November 1758', p. 7.

Gordon and offered £500 sterling; but he was nothing if not honourable and gave the Colonel first option on his services on these terms.¹ In short, the Bailie was unblushingly on the make. What really rankled with Mackenzie, however, was Scott's failure to make any move in the purchase of the estate of Tulloch. So he hung off, and took with him the Treasurer, Donald Morison, and his brother Roderick. Every effort was made to seduce these sea-green incorruptibles, but their hopes were fixed on Bailie Mackenzie and his alluring prospects.

At the Michaelmas election of 1758 all went well for Scott despite the fact that Cameron and Bayne took cold feet, refused to swear the oaths against bribery, and had to be bundled out of the council-house and held prisoners by the Colonel's manservant. Moreover, although Scott preferred not to use force he had taken the precaution of having his cousin Lieutenant Sinclair enter Dingwall with a party of recruits, ostensibly for enlisting purposes, but, in fact, 'to be ready for any Occasion about the Time of the Election'. Whilst the election was in progress the recruits, armed with staves, stood on guard round the council-house.² With the stage thus set, the election itself was a very one-sided affair. Bailie Mackenzie had now thrown in his lot with Sir John Gordon and sought to embarrass the Colonel by requiring him to take back the £100 given to him by Scott in September 1757, but the Colonel, seeing the trap, denied all knowledge of the transaction. Then the actual election business was pushed through, punctuated at every turn by the shrill protests of the minority. It ended entirely to the Colonel's satisfaction; he could now congratulate himself on his control of the burgh and the certainty of victory at the Parliamentary election.

Against any other opponent all might have been well; but Sir John Gordon was not only stubborn but notoriously litigious. He once wrote an amusing little self-portrait in verse to his friend, the painter, John Medina the younger, which was more life-like than anything the indifferent talents of Medina could have contrived in his own medium. One couplet ran:

His Coat be of Election Laws,
Lin'd with the Patriots Good Old Cause.³

¹ Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Observations for Col. Scott, 15 January 1759', pp. 2-3; also *ibid.*, 'Respondents' Proof', p. 24, 'Deposition of Thomas Mackenzie of Highfield'.

² Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Petition and Complaint of Mackenzie of Brae, 28 November 1758', p. 7.

³ 'Pocket-Book of Sir John Gordon', p. 109.

Primed with his knowledge of election laws, he instigated a process of reduction in the Court of Session against Scott's election.¹ The opening shots were fired in the Petition of John Mackenzie of Brae and others, which we have frequently cited and which the Court judged to be a fair statement of the case. Scott, for his part, at first treated the process too lightly, his 'Answers' and later 'Observations' in no wise contradicting Mackenzie's allegations, although occasionally bringing out some interesting but, for the purposes of the cause, irrelevant information. Indeed, his 'Answers' are little more than a witty and amusing squib. The opening sentences reflect the flippant tone maintained throughout: 'It is the Privilege of losing Gamesters, to complain and be peevish. Political Disappointments are hard to be digested; Such is the Nature of this Complaint now to be answered, the last Speech and Dying Words of a departing political Ghost.'² But the Colonel's metaphor from his favourite pastime, however wittily expounded by his advocate Alexander Lockhart, was no effective reply to the charges contained in Mackenzie's Petition. The result was that Scott and several others on the council were found guilty of bribery and the election voided.³ It was, however, but a partial triumph for the complainers, the Lords refusing to declare the persons voted for by them to be elected. This did not satisfy Sir John who wished to have bribers and bribed disqualified from further exercise of the franchise according to the election statutes of 2 George II and 16 George II. This Scott resisted vigorously, pointing out that the original process, one of reduction, had been brought under common law and not in terms of these statutes, which anyway were of doubtful applicability to municipal elections. Throughout these later exchanges the Respondents were on firm ground and were sustained by the interlocutors of the judges⁴; but Sir John never acknowledged defeat and for years he continued to pester the Lord Advocate to bring a criminal action against Scott and his friends. The case did not terminate until 1766 when the Lord Advocate in no uncertain terms refused to concur

¹ That this is so, see 'Pocket-Book of Sir John Gordon', p. 410, where he lays bare his plans for a campaign in the Court of Session.

² Session Papers, vol. 57:5, 'Answers for Col. Scott, 7 December 1758', p. 1.

³ Kames, *Select Decisions*, No. clv, pp. 212-15; *ibid.*, clvi, pp. 216-7; also the same in Morison's *Dictionary*, 1881-2.

⁴ Session Papers, vol. 95:49, 'Petition of Sir John Gordon to the Lord Justice General and the Lords of Justiciary, 13 August 1765', pp. 5-6.

in such an action.¹ The legal costs must have been heavy, Scott being found liable in over £800.² All things considered, the parliamentary election must have cost something in the region of £3,000 to £4,000, which was heavy for a Scottish constituency.

In relation to the parliamentary election, the decision of the Court of Session against Scott in August 1759 now opened up a grave question for the candidates. Could Sir John Gordon secure the disfranchisement of Scott and his friends before the burgh-council could be restored by a poll-warrant?³ For a time it seemed touch and go, but in the event he failed. Scott, still assiduously bribing, won the poll-election on 7 October 1760, and although challenged by Mackenzie of Brae and others of Sir John's friends the election was confirmed by the King in Council on 28 January 1761.⁴ Thus Sir John Gordon failed to secure Dingwall, and at the parliamentary election of 1761 Colonel John Scott was returned for the Northern Burghs. No details of this are available, but that his victory was clear beyond dispute may be safely inferred from the absence of a protest to the House of Commons. The Colonel, however, regarded the Northern Burghs merely as a stepping stone to a better constituency, and in 1768 he stood and was returned for his ancestral county of Fife. He did indeed go through the motions of bidding for the estate of Tulloch but he was just as glad to see it go to Bayne's cousin, Henry Davidson.⁵ Nevertheless he continued to maintain his connection in Dingwall and the Northern Burghs, partly as an investment, partly as a form of political insurance. Thus, in 1772, he wrote to the town council 'offering a donation of one hundred pounds, as a mark of his good-will, for a town clock or any other useful purpose that may be agreeable to the Burgh'. The offer was accepted with quite pathetic enthusiasm, and on 2 February

¹ Book of Adjournal (D34), 25 January 1766; Sir John still battled away, but on 21 June 1766 (D34) the Lords of Justiciary rejected his Petition.

² Session Papers, vol. 96:1, 'Information for John Mackenzie of Brae et al., 27 July 1764'.

³ For procedure by poll-warrant, see Alexander Wight, *Rise and Progress of Parliament* (1806), I, 356 et seq.

⁴ MacRae, op. cit., 221.

⁵ For some amusing sidelights on this, see Delvine Papers, 1259: Scott and Davidson agreed to bid in concert, the actual purchaser to be decided by a roll of the dice, a test that Davidson dreaded, but finally 'Pawkie' conceded without throwing. See, above, ff. 11-29, 'Davidson to Mackenzie of Delvine, 22 Dec. 1761-4 March 1762'.

1773 our old friend Donald Morison, the splendid incorruptible, was one of a trio appointed to visit Forres and prepare a model of the steeple and bells there 'as a plan for the proposed operations of the same kind in this Burgh'.¹

From 1768 until 1832 the history of Dingwall seems to have been relatively tranquil. At least, there are no records of any bitter election contests. The Northern Burghs constituency, however, continued to be a problem for the political managers. In 1784, John Robinson regarded the constituency as doubtful and passed the following comment: 'These are a parcel of very compound boroughs. They are classed doubtful and Mr. Dundas can best say whether good can be drawn out of them.'² But in fact so little good was drawn out of them at this time that they returned Charles James Fox, which he found a dubious but unexpectedly useful compliment.³ Compound and uncertain they remained, and the great Harry himself had difficulty keeping them in order. Finally, after involved negotiations with Sir John Sinclair, Dundas in 1796 managed to secure the constituency for his nephew, William Dundas.⁴ But more than most Burgh Groups the Northern was capricious, and in November 1810 a 'Sketch of the Political Interest in Scotland' drawn up for Lord Melville remarks of this constituency: 'generally arranged by compromise, otherwise a *doubtful contest* depending on the returning Burgh'.⁵ In the 1780's the Davidsons of Tulloch controlled the burgh of Dingwall,⁶ but from 1790 and until the Reform Act of 1832 it was dominated by the Seaforth family.⁷

When every allowance is made for the diversity of the Royal Burghs in the eighteenth century, Dingwall shows certain features that can be regarded as typical of a fair number of them. In short, it might stand as the type of the small impoverished burgh for which the parliamentary franchise was an

¹ MacRae, op. cit., 231. That Scott retained some interest in the Northern Burghs as late as 1774, see Laprade (ed.), *Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson*, 5.

² *Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson*, ed. Laprade, 105.

³ Porritts, op. cit., ii, 139, quoting Fox from Russell's *Memorials and Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, ii, 269: 'I am chosen for Scotch Burghs. Whether this is good or no I doubt.' In fact, his return for the Northern Burghs proved very useful when his election for Westminster was closely queried.

⁴ Holden Furber, *Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville*, 242-3.

⁵ Melville Papers, Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. No. 1, f. 208.

⁶ MacRae, op. cit., 236 et seq.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 240 et seq.; there are ample details and illustrations of this in the voluminous Seaforth Papers in the Register House.

important source of revenue as well as of largesse for the leading councillors. The council of Dingwall, like that of Galt's not very fictitious Gudetown, was expected to strike the best bargain it could for the burgh and roundly condemned should it fail to do so. Furthermore, such a burgh would not, like Inverary for example, be under the absolute sway of a patron. Few Scots burghs were. In the majority a patron might prevail for a time so long as he was a good provider. The moment he could not provide he was on the way out. The lesson pointed by the careers of the Cromartie Mackenzies and the Munros of Fowlis is clear and needs no elaborating. Nor was it merely a question of money and places. Constant attention had to be paid to the magistrates and councillors of the burghs by the parliamentary politicians. It was probably in this respect that Sir Robert Munro fell short in 1739-40. As he pointed out to Bayne of Tulloch he had not been niggardly as a patron; but he did undoubtedly carry things with a high hand. Even in the eighteenth century, when corruption was general, the proverbial touchiness of the Scot had to be reckoned with. Far from being servile the magistrates and councillors were apt to take the huff at any slight or injury. This was the entire basis of Ayr's refractory conduct in the negotiations leading up to the General Election of 1761. The town council resented the haughty way in which the aristocratic interests then contending for the burghs had made a compromise among themselves and decided who should be returned for the constituency. It only made matters worse when the Ayr councillors were informed 'that they were of no consequence whatever part they acted'. But it is to be noted that in this interesting episode it was the patrons who had to climb down and to make, for such grandees, abject apologies.¹ Then, as we have seen, in Dingwall Colonel Scott ran into difficulties through underestimating the importance of that ambitious rascal, Bailie Mackenzie. Scott prevailed in the end, but, had he secured Mackenzie, Sir John Gordon would have had virtually no party in the burgh and little inclination to go to law in such a hopeless cause.

Finally, we must revert to our opening question—were there 'rotten' burghs in Scotland? In the accepted English sense, probably not; but in the only sense that really matters, that which fits into the context of the electoral system in Scotland,

¹ W. L. Burn, in *English Historical Review*, 1937, p. 103 et seq.

decidedly yes. Technically, the Scots burghs closely resembled the English corporation boroughs, but the parallel is not exact, for after 1707, apart from Edinburgh, each Scottish Royal Burgh was at best, in the parliamentary sense, a *fractional corporation burgh*. And here we find the real key to our problem: it was the system of grouping in the Scots burghs that set them apart. It was this that gave patrons such a hard time and which very naturally necessitated different election techniques from those employed in England. The Scottish burghs were neither more nor less corrupt than the English boroughs; it was merely that existing electoral arrangements dictated that they should be handled rather differently. The grouping arrangement also explains the potential, and too often underestimated, strength of the individual town councils. Where there was an equipoise, or near equipoise, of interests in a group the importance of any one town council might be enhanced, and particularly so if, as was often the case with Dingwall, it was a 'floater', playing with both eyes avidly fixed on the main chance.

W. FERGUSON.¹

¹ Lecturer in Scottish History in the University of Edinburgh.

La Piere D'Escocce

ENGLISH allusions to the 'Stone of Destiny' in the Middle Ages are sufficiently rare for any one of them to be of importance. There exists a fourteenth-century poem on the subject, of which only one stanza seems to have been printed,¹ but, as it sheds some light on the growth of the legend, it is worth printing in full.

This poem occurs in two manuscripts, now in the Bodleian Library.² In both the text of the poem is written as prose, with the division between the lines marked by full-stops and capital letters—an arrangement rare after the twelfth century except in the case of Provençal manuscripts. In Ashmole the last three lines of the fourth stanza have been omitted; otherwise the only important difference is that, in both its occurrences, Galloway appears as *Galatway* in Ashmole and as *Galway* in Bodley. The text which is printed here is that of Bodley. Missing letters are supplied in square brackets, but superfluous *ee* have been left as they are.

The poem consists of six stanzas of four alexandrines in monorhyme. The rhythm and style recall Langtoft's *Chronicle* and the translations of the correspondence between Edward I and the Pope on Scotland, but in these the lines are grouped in 'laisses' and not in stanzas, and the resemblance is deceptive. What we have here is, in fact, not a poem but a song, and it could well have found a place amongst the political songs first published by Thomas Wright and now given a modern edition by the late Miss I. Aspin.³

Q[e]i est la piere de Escose, vous die pur verité,
Sur quei les Roys d'Escocce estoient mis en see.
Johan Balol le drein fust, a ceo q'est counté,
Qe sur ceste piere reseut sa dignité.

¹ G. Watson, 'The Coronation Stone of Scotland', in *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, iii (1910), 29.

² Bodley 302 (f. 141) and Ashmole 789 (f. 160). The entry in Ashmole is not directly derived from the earlier Bodley, but the two entries must have some common source. I wish to thank Dr Annie Dunlop and Dr E. L. G. Stones for drawing my attention to these MSS.

³ Anglo-Norman Text Society, xi (1953).

Ore l'ad conquise Edward Roy d'Engleterre,
 Par la grace Jhesu Criste et par forte guere.
 A Seint Edward la present com roy de graunt affaire.
 Ore est passé par la morte que nul ne poet retrere.

En Egipte Moise a le poeple precha,
 Scotla la file Faraon bien l'escota,
 Qare il dite en espirite, 'Qe ceste pierre avera,
 De molt estraunge terre conquerour serra.'

Gaidelons et Scotla ceste pierre menerount
 Quant de la terre Egipte en Escose passerount,
 Ne geres loyns de Scone quant ariveront.
 De la noun de Scotla la Escose terre numount.

Puis la mort la Scotla son baron femme ne prist,
 Mais en la terre de Galway sa demore fist.
 De son nune demoisne le nune de Galway mist.
 Issi pert qe par lour nouns Escose et Galway ist.

Ore est Edward passé hors de ceste vie,
 Conquerour de terres, la flour de chivalrie,
 Prioms Dieu omnipotent, qe tout le mounde guy[e],
 Qe Dieu de s'alme eyt mercy, Dieu le fitz Mary[e].

[What the Stone of Scotland is, I tell you for truth, on which the Kings of Scotland were placed in their seat. John Baliol was the last, according to what is told, who received his dignity on this stone.

Now Edward King of England has conquered it, by the grace of Jesus Christ and by hard warfare. He offers it to St. Edward like a king of great importance. Now he has passed by death, that no one can avoid.

In Egypt Moses preached to the people. Scotla, Pharoah's daughter, listered well, for he said in the spirit, 'Whoso will possess this stone, shall be the conqueror of a very far-off land.'

Gaidelon and Scotla brought this stone, when they passed from the land of Egypt to Scotland, not far from Scone, when they arrived. They named the land Scotland from Scotla's name.

After Scotla's death her husband took no other wife, but made his dwelling in the land of Galloway. From his own name he gave Galloway its name. Thus it appears that Scotland and Galloway are derived from their names.

Now has Edward passed from this life, the conqueror of lands

and flower of chivalry. Let us pray almighty God, who sways the whole world, that God may have mercy on his soul, God the son of Mary.]

It would seem that this song was composed soon after the death of Edward I; and it was probably hawked about Westminster, where he was buried and where the Stone was deposited. If it was written in or soon after 1307, it comes between Baldred Bisset's telling of the legend, in 1301, and the briefer account of it in the mid-fourteenth-century *Vita Edwardi II*¹ and is thus the second oldest extant version. It has some peculiarities. It states that Scota and her husband brought the Stone directly from Egypt to Scotland, to a place not far from Scone, without mention of a stay in Ireland or Argyll, let alone Spain. This may be due to an attempt to abbreviate the account in the source, or it may be the original story, which is known to have suffered interpolations in order to make it fit the chronology of history. The irrelevant detail that Gaidelon remained a widower after Scota's death suggests that the source was much fuller. Nowhere else is Galloway derived from Gaidelon. According to Giraldus Cambrensis, in the *Topographia Hibernica* and the *De Instructione Principum*, Gaidelus gave his name to the Gaelic language of Ireland and to the people of that country, whereas according to Bisset, Ergadia (Argyll), the part of Scotland where Scota landed on her arrival from Ireland, is derived from the names of Erk, son of Scota, and of Gaelus, her husband. The least fantastic of these false etymologies is the earliest, preserved by Giraldus; the least possible, though it looks superficially attractive, is that in the song.² The *Vita* agrees with the song in ascribing to Moses a prophecy about the Stone before it left Egypt.

In view of the fact that these three early accounts, while independent of one another, have certain features in common, it is evident that Bisset did not invent the legend,³ as Skene was inclined to suspect, but that a fairly extensive form of it was current in the thirteenth century. Whether it was already in existence in the time of Giraldus cannot be guessed; at all

¹ For Bisset see W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 280, and *The Coronation Stone* (1869), 19-21; for the *Vita*, see W. Stubbs, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II* (Rolls Series), ii, 276, *sub anno* 1324, and N. Denholm-Young, *Vita Edwardi Secundi* (1957), 132.

² Cf. *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 146, 166, 241-2.

³ *Coronation Stone*, 21; cf. Watson, *loc. cit.*, 25.

events, he does not mention it. The song and the *Vita* are more closely related to one another than they are to Bisset's account, and as they contain matter which he omits, it cannot be he who introduced the legend into England to the exclusion of other sources, as might reasonably have been expected.

So much for prehistory. The statement in the song that Edward I offered the Stone to St. Edward is important. About 1327 Rishanger reported that Edward I had ordered the Stone to be made into the chair of the priest celebrant at Westminster, a statement which was repeated by Walsingham. In the Wardrobe Accounts for 1300 the wooden chair, made by Walter of Durham to hold the Stone, is said to have been placed by the altar before the shrine of St. Edward,¹ and the *Vita* describes it as being beside his tomb. It is believed that it was used at coronations from that of Edward II onwards, though there is no evidence for the precise part it played in early times. The employment of leopards (which occur in the arms of the Angevins but not in those ascribed to the Confessor) in the scheme of decoration² of this chair, which was a cheap substitute for the bronze chair of the original plan,³ suggests that the king still regarded the Stone as royal property. The abbots, on the other hand, chose to regard it as the property, not of the reigning king, but of St. Edward. Most of the regalia were, rightly or wrongly, considered to be relics of the Confessor, and the Stone came to be looked upon in more or less the same light. Hence the difference of opinion between the king and the abbot when it was proposed to hand it back to the Scots in 1328, which led to the discrepancy between the *Chronicon de Lanercost*, which states that the abbot refused to part with it, and the *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker*, which says that it was the Londoners who would not let it go.⁴ A popular song of the time of Edward I preserved by Langtoft who, strangely enough, makes no other mention of the Stone, gives the view of the man in the street. He, unlike the abbot, saw it merely as a trophy and the symbol of the overthrow of a kingdom:

¹ *Coronation Stone*, 11.

² The latest description is in a note by William Palmer, *The Coronation Chair* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1953).

³ James S. Richardson, 'The Stone of Destiny' in *The Scotsman*, 5 February 1961.

⁴ For this episode, see E. L. G. Stones, 'An Addition to the "Rotuli Scotiae"', *ante*, xxix, 33.

Thair Kinges sette of Scone
Es driven over done,
To Lunden i-ledde.¹

The French song puts the Abbey case.

M. DOMINICA LEGGE.²

¹ Ed. Thomas Wright (Rolls Series), ii, 264.

² Reader in French in the University of Edinburgh.

The Franco-Scottish and Franco-Norwegian Treaties of 1295¹

FEW subjects demand closer study from Scottish historians than the train of events which preceded the breach between Scotland and England in 1295. Of these events, the last, and the most momentous, was the conclusion of the Franco-Scottish alliance. Provoked by this evidence of Scottish hostility, Edward invaded Scotland. To more than a century of peace there succeeded two and a half centuries of enmity and warfare which retarded the development of Scotland but confirmed its existence as a nation.

Why the breach in Anglo-Scottish relations occurred is thus a question fundamental to Scottish history. Too often it has been treated as one involving merely England and Scotland. The object of this paper is to show that the issues were more complex, and that the crisis of Anglo-Scottish relations in 1295 should be placed not in an insular but in a European setting.

Restive under the obligations imposed upon them by an English lord superior, the Scots saw a prospect of release in the worsening of relations between England and France. On 15 May 1293, at a time when French and English were at peace, the seamen of the Cinque Ports had met their Norman rivals in a bitter fight off the coast of Brittany. The French ships were routed, and the English victory was followed by a descent upon the seaport of La Rochelle by the men of Bayonne. For the depredations of the English and Gascon subjects of Edward I the French king demanded satisfaction. In the course of the subsequent negotiations, a token surrender of the Gascon duchy put its fortresses in the hands of Philip the Fair. The gesture did not suffice to conciliate the French. Edward was declared contumacious and his duchy forfeited.²

¹ Various drafts of this article have received helpful criticism from Sir Maurice Powicke, Mr K. B. McFarlane and Dr P. T. V. M. Chaplais. For imperfections in the final version these gentlemen are, of course, in no way responsible.

² See Sir Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307*, ch. xiv, where the naval engagement off Cap Saint-Mathieu and its repercussions are set forth at length.

The war which ensued is of interest more for its diplomacy than for its campaigns. Edward allied himself with Adolph of Nassau, king of the Romans¹; and a bevy of German, Netherlandish and Burgundian potentates, some already connected to Edward by kinship or marriage, were further attached to his cause by mercenary pay.² As Edward's envoys strove for the diplomatic encirclement of France, so did the envoys of the French king strive to purchase the neutrality of members of the Edwardian coalition,³ and to threaten England itself by counter-alliances with the Aragonese, Norwegians and Scots.

That the Franco-Scottish and Franco-Norwegian alliances were related to one another has been noted by Sir Maurice Powicke.⁴ The relationship between them is worth unravelling: for the issues involved were among those which caused the Scots to break with Edward I, and to make the bid for independence that ended in the abdication of John Balliol.

To the Scots, already uneasy under Edward's interpretation of the overlordship conceded to him at Norham in 1291, the summer of 1294 brought new grievances: demands for an embargo upon their shipping⁵ and for military service in Gascony.⁶ The differences between the lord superior of Scotland and his vassal were not resolved by the missions which Balliol despatched to England in the summer and winter of the following year.⁷ While Edward was preoccupied with the revolt of Madoc ap Llewelyn in Wales, advances were made to the French. These soon took effect in preferential treatment for Scots merchants in France. By a writ of 3 March 1295, the count of Flanders had been instructed by the French king to break off intercourse with both English and Scots.⁸ In further

¹ *Foedera* (Record Commission edition), i, pt. ii, 802, 812, 815.

² *Ibid.*, 808, 815, 827. For some of the members of the confederacy, see pp. 813-27.

³ Edward's envoys attempted to win support not only on the northern and eastern frontiers of France but also in the south, where they negotiated with Castile and Aragon. An insight into the English and French diplomacy of the period may be gained from the 'Document pour Servir à L'Histoire des Relations de la France avec L'Angleterre et L'Allemagne sous le Règne de Philippe le Bel' published by F. Funck-Brentano in *Revue Historique*, xxxix (1889), 326 et seq. See also *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 805.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 612-13.

⁵ *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 801.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 804.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 826; J. Stevenson, *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, ii, No. cccxlvii.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. cccxxxiv. See also *Codex Diplomaticus Lubecensis* (*Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck*), i, No. dcxviii: Philip forbade the Hansa merchants to import English or Scottish wares into Flanders.

writs of 10 May 1295 and 14 July 1295, however, Philip ordered concessions to be made to Scottish merchants *quos pro nostris inimicis non habemus, sed potius nostros reputamus amicos*.¹ A few weeks later, Thomas de Turbeville wrote to the provost of Paris presaging a breach between Scots and English, advocating the despatch of a strong French force to Scotland, and offering to establish liaison with the Scottish king.² Already, by letters of 5 July 1295, the bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld, together with John de Soules and Ingeram d'Umfraville had been accredited to the French king and empowered to conclude a treaty with him.³ The treaty they made at Paris on 23 October 1295 was ratified by letters patent of 23 February 1296 under the great seal of John Balliol and the seals of a good number of the Scottish barons, clergy and burghs.⁴ The defensive and offensive alliance thus made was directed against England⁵; and it was to be given the more permanence by a marriage of Edward, son of John Balliol, to a niece of Philip the Fair.⁶

What is not so well known is that the Franco-Scottish alliance, dated at Paris on 23 October 1295, followed a Franco-Norwegian alliance dated on the previous day. By letters of attorney of 24 June 1295,⁷ a Norwegian nobleman, Audun Huggleiksson,⁸ was empowered to treat with Philip IV and to

¹ J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, ii, No. CCCXXV, and Nos. CCCXXXVII and CCCXXXVIII.

² Turbeville was afterwards executed for treason. His letter is printed in J. G. Edwards's article in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F. M. Powicke*, 298-9. See also *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough* (Camden Series, No. LXXXIX), 254.

³ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (A.P.S.)*, i, 453.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 453.

⁵ The English showed their awareness of the trend of the Franco-Scottish negotiations by speedy retaliation: in a writ of 12 October 1295, Edward envisaged the cautionary surrender of the border fortresses of Berwick, Roxburgh and Jedburgh (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i, 21-22). A writ of 16 October 1295 ordered the seizure of the English lands, goods and chattels of John Balliol and other Scots (J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, ii, No. CCCXLI).

⁶ *A.P.S.*, i, 451 et seq.

⁷ See *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (ed. Lange and Unger), xi, 6.

⁸ He is described (*ibid.*) as lord of Hegrane and kinsman of Eric of Norway. He had received money from Edward I in 1280 for assistance toward the apprehension of Guy de Montfort (*Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 577). Letters of safe conduct were issued for him for missions to England in 1292 and 1294 (J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, i, Nos. CCLXXVI and CCCXXV). On 25 September 1293, at Bergen, he had received from envoys of Robert Bruce robes and two small crowns destined for Isabella Bruce who had recently married Eric of Norway (J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii, No. 675). For a brief account of Huggleiksson's interesting career see K. Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, i, 481-2.

make an alliance with him against the king of England and his adherents, including the king of the Romans. A treaty, dated at Paris on 22 October 1295, was drawn up in Audun's name by Evenus Phily, notary apostolic, sealed by Audun himself, and, *ad maiorem cautelam*, by the bishops of Paris and Dol.¹

In order to gain control of the Channel, let alone invade a nation conscious of its redoubtable seapower,² Philip the Fair, like many a subsequent French monarch, required naval assistance. Negotiations with Genoa brought him technical aid for the construction of galleys in the Norman ports.³ He attempted, probably successfully, to buy, hire or commandeer Hanseatic ships,⁴ while Edward took counter-measures to forestall this.⁵ A fleet of thirty galleys hired or constructed in the Mediterranean, left Marseilles on 1 April 1295 and reached Norman ports two months later to unite with the squadron of galleys constructed there under Genoese supervision.⁶ By a secret agreement annexed to the treaty of Anagni, Jaime II of Aragon proffered to Philip forty armed galleys under the command of the Aragonese admiral to be employed against the English. For this aid the French were to pay forty thousand *livres tournois* for the expenses of the first four months of service.⁷

The substance of the treaty concluded with Norway was a similar provision of naval resources to be used in the war against the English and their allies. This Norwegian naval help was to be on so grandiose a scale as to be impracticable. By the middle of March each year, the French king was to notify the Norwegians of his requirements in the coming spring. On the first day of May, the Norwegian king was to be prepared to supply up to two hundred galleys⁸ and one hundred great ships, together with a maximum of fifty thousand well-armed fighting men. For this assistance during the ensuing four

¹ Text in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xix, 438. See also *ibid.*, xi, 7-11 and J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, ii, No. cccxliii and notes.

² See the *Chronicle of Lanercost* (Maitland Club), 286.

³ See F. Funck-Brentano, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-9 and C. de la Roncière, 'Le Blocus continental de l'Angleterre sous Philippe le Bel' in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, ix (1896), 402-41.

⁴ *Codex Diplomaticus Lubecensis*, i, Nos. dcxvii and dcxix.

⁵ *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 821.

⁶ C. de la Roncière, *op. cit.*, pp. 409-11. See also Guisborough, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁷ G. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon* (Saragossa, 1610), i, 358-9.

⁸ Not 'helmets' as in J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 8, footnote.

months, payment of £30,000 sterling¹ was to be made in Flanders by the French in two equal instalments, the first before the month of May and the second after two of the four months had elapsed. In return, the Norwegians would hand over sufficient hostages as a pledge for their fulfilment of the contract. In the presence of French envoys sent to Norway, king Eric issued letters, dated at Bergen on 29 March 1296, ratifying the treaty which had been concluded in his name at Paris.²

Both the Franco-Scottish and Franco-Norwegian treaties were offensive alliances directed against England. They were drawn up within a day of one another. Did the existence of these treaties with France imply a closer connection between Norway and Scotland?

Letters patent issued simultaneously in the name of Philip show this to have been the case.³ These made further stipulations of mutual aid and counsel between France and Norway, and provided for possible French arbitration in disputes touching Norway and a third party. The status of the Scottish king was particularly considered. It was pointed out that Balliol owed fealty to Philip (presumably for the Balliol lands in France: Bailleul, Dampierre, Hélicourt and Hornoy).⁴ As a vassal of Philip, the Scots king ought to make war upon Edward. Lest the Scots king be distracted from such action, the Norwegian king was to guarantee that during hostilities between France and England he would not make war upon the Scots by reason of any past disputes with them, nor would he devise new motives for such a war but rather strive to avoid it.

From this, it is clear that the attitude of the Norwegians toward the Scots was of some moment to the French, who, by reason of their new connection with Scotland were anxious to keep Scots and Norwegians at peace with one another. But more than this was intended. The Franco-Scottish and Franco-Norwegian treaties were linked by another document. Letters patent,⁵ dated at Paris on 22 October 1295, were issued in the

¹ Stevenson (op. cit., ii, p. 8, note) makes this sum £50,000, confusing it with the 50,000 fighting men whom the Norwegians were to provide. The text of the manuscript (Paris, Archives Nationales Série J. 457 No. 2) states clearly that the French would pay Norway £30,000.

² *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xix, 450.

³ Text in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xi, 7-11.

⁴ See J. Pelham Maitland, 'The Early Homes of the Balliols' in *Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society*, 3rd Series, xviii, 235-42.

⁵ Text in J. Stevenson, op. cit., ii, No. CCCXLIV.

names of the bishops of St. Andrews¹ and Dunkeld,² John de Soules³ and Ingeram d'Umfraville, the Scottish envoys. They were evidently accessories to the Franco-Norwegian treaty, for they narrated that such a treaty had been concluded, whereby the French king, in his war against the English, would receive certain aid from the Norwegians. Lest the Norwegian king be hindered from rendering this aid, the Scottish envoys promised, in the name of their king, that for the duration of Philip's war with the English the Scots would not go to war with the Norwegians by reason of past disputes with them, nor would the Scots seek other occasion for such a war.

There were, therefore, two apparently separate treaties, Franco-Scottish and Franco-Norwegian, drawn up almost simultaneously. Both were directed against England; and both were linked by supplementary agreements, in effect reciprocal guarantees, that while Philip was at war with the English, his allies of Scotland and Norway would not be distracted from aiding him by mutual disputes. At the instance of the French, without apparently negotiating directly with one another, Scots and Norwegians had made an entente to clear the way for a concentration of military and naval resources against England.

The series of agreements concluded among Scots, French and Norwegians in the autumn of 1295 poses to the historian at least three questions:

1. Why did the Scots ally themselves with the enemies of their lord superior?
2. Why did the Norwegians conclude an alliance hostile to England?
3. What were the causes of the animosity between Norway and Scotland which the negotiations of 1295 were designed to allay?

The first of these questions need not be answered here.

¹ William Fraser. He was one of the Scottish guardians between 1286 and 1292 and it was he who, by a letter of 7 October 1290, informed Edward of the reported death of the Maid of Norway and advised him to approach the border and treat with John Balliol (*Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 741).

² Matthew de Crambeth. He was one of the forty assessors chosen by Bruce in the Great Cause (*Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 767).

³ One of the forty assessors chosen by Bruce (*Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 767) and later, between 1298 and 1304, one of the Scottish guardians. Soules, Umfraville and the bishop of Dunkeld were again in Paris in 1303 as members of a Scottish diplomatic mission (*A.P.S.*, i, 454-5).

That the Scots in 1295 should have made an alliance with France against England is readily explicable.

Why the Norwegians should have made a similar alliance is an enigma worth consideration: for in the years prior to 1295 their relations with Edward were apparently amicable. In 1284, at the request of Eric of Norway, Edward had renewed the treaty which had been concluded in 1269 between his father and Magnus IV.¹ By its terms, trade between the two kingdoms was to be protected and neither king was to harbour the enemies of the other. Two years later, in 1286, Edward allowed a Norwegian envoy, the jarl of Sarpsborg, to recruit knights and other soldiers in England for war with the Danes.² More than this, Edward then made a loan of 2,000 marks to Eric,³ which does not seem to have been repaid.⁴ Nor do the Norwegians seem to have opposed Edward's plans for the custody and marriage of the Maid of Norway. The diplomatic missions which Edward sent to Norway were well supplied with funds and used them.⁵ Although Eric was one of the thirteen competitors in the Great Cause, the failure of his claim⁶ did not cause an immediate breach with England: in the following three years he attempted rather to enlist the support of the English for his remaining claims upon the Scots.⁷ Not even in the piratical attacks made by English seamen on the considerable Norwegian trade with Lynn and other East Anglian ports is there to be found evidence of hostility between the two kingdoms: Edward ordered the incidents to be investigated with a view to redress.⁸

In all this, there is little to indicate an incipient diplomatic breach. Seldom can the amiable trivia of royal correspondence exist in a period of strained relations, and as late as 19 May

¹ *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 640, 645.

² *Ibid.*, 667.

³ *Ibid.*, 667, 668.

⁴ An *inspeximus* of various documents in connection with the loan, dated at Wolmer on 24 April 1290, and no doubt intended for use in the current negotiations with the Norwegians, was drawn up by the Bek brothers, the bishops of Durham and St. David's (*Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xix, 255-7). It mentions no receipt of repayment; yet this ought to have been completed by Michaelmas 1288. (See *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 668).

⁵ The bishop of Durham received £2,000 for his expenses (*Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xix, 266). He accepted obligations toward certain Norwegians for pensions of £400 yearly for which he was recompensed by Edward (*ibid.*, 287).

⁶ Eric's claim to the Scottish crown is the subject of an article by Arne Odd Johnsen in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 37 (1954-7), 145-75.

⁷ *Infra*, pp. 126, 129.

⁸ *Calendar of Patent Rolls (C.P.R.)*, 1281-1292, 490, a writ of 20 May 1292.

1293, Eric wrote to Edward recommending a clerk to his favour.¹ In the following year, a marriage between the two royal houses was projected. The duke of Norway (Haakon, brother of Eric II) sent letters to Edward desiring his counsel on the selection of a suitable English bride. Edward welcomed these overtures and offered to send to the duke letters of safe conduct to last for a year so that he, or his envoys, might come to England.² Such letters were engrossed on 15 June 1294. At the same time, letters of safe conduct were made out for Audun Huglönsson, Bernerus de Berkereye and Bernard Ludovici, ambassadors of Eric of Norway.³ Whether a Norwegian delegation did arrive is uncertain. But when Edward was in Aberconway (26 December 1294-6 July 1295)⁴ at least one Norwegian envoy was received by him.⁵ If a breach between the English and Norwegian kings did occur, it must have been about this time; and it is difficult to find an explanation for such a breach in any matter affecting only England and Norway.

But the king of England was lord superior of Scotland, a country with a long record of diplomatic transactions with Norway.⁶ Most notable of these in recent years had been the complex negotiations for the reception of the Maid of Norway in Scotland and for her marriage to the heir of England. Through these negotiations the three kingdoms had been brought into close contact with one another. The death of the Maid in the autumn of 1290 left this considerable diplomatic activity fruitless. But this by no means concluded all issues in debate between Scotland and Norway. By reason of the death of the Maid, the Norwegian king considered himself a candidate for the Scottish crown; and more concrete claims remained for him to press.

In these, Edward, the new overlord of Scotland, became involved. Edward's jurisdiction over Scotland was that of a superior lord over his vassal's fief. For the remedy of defaults

¹ *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 788.

² *Ibid.*, i, pt. ii, 802.

³ J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, i, No. cccxxv.

⁴ He was in Aberconway from 26 December 1294 to 6 January 1295, again from 20 January to 9 April 1295, and again 1 July to 6 July 1295. (H. Gough, *Itinerary of King Edward the First*.)

⁵ See J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, ii, No. dlvi.

⁶ These figure prominently in the inventory of Scottish records compiled in 1282 (see *A.P.S.*, i, 107-10) and in the lists of records brought by Edward's orders from the treasury in Edinburgh and deposited in Berwick castle in 1291 (*ibid.*, i, 111-12).

of justice on the part of John Balliol, Edward was responsible. He could and did hear appeals from the judgments of the Scottish king.¹ During the interregnum, moreover, Edward heard Scottish causes and gave judgment upon them.² One such judgment concerned Norway; and its repercussions were undoubtedly to be found among those grave disputes alluded to in the reciprocal guarantees of 1295. Why the Norwegians in 1295 should feel hostile to Edward to the extent of concluding an alliance against him, and why the Norwegians, although prepared to postpone a reckoning with the Scots, were nevertheless on bad terms with them, are inter-related questions to which similar answers may be given: the Norwegians were annoyed with the Scots because they did not make certain money payments in which they were bound to Norway; they were annoyed with Edward, because, as lord superior of Scotland, he was unable or unwilling to make the Scots respect obligations to Norway, some of which he had himself judicially confirmed.

What were these obligations? By the terms of the treaty of Perth of 1266, Scotland was bound to pay to Norway a perpetual 'annual' of 100 marks in return for the cession of the Western Isles and Man. This payment was apparently kept up until the death of Alexander III and for a few years afterwards. Receipts existed among the Scottish records for every year between 1282 and 1289 inclusive. No receipt existed for 1290, although a payment was made in 1291.³ But from 1291 until 1312, when Bruce paid the current year's instalment, together with the arrears of the preceding five years,⁴ there is no trace of satisfaction being made to the Norwegians.⁵

This was not the only financial matter in dispute. In 1281, Margaret, daughter of Alexander III, had married Eric of Norway. As her dowry, 14,000 marks were to be settled upon her and the children of the marriage.⁶ Of the 14,000 marks, half was paid in cash.⁷ For the remainder, Alexander gave

¹ As, for example, the Macduff case (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, i, 110-11).

² *Rotuli Scotiae*, i, 6; Stevenson, op. cit., i, No. cccv.

³ *A.P.S.*, i, 113.

⁴ *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, ii, 95-96.

⁵ The account of John de Drokenesford, Edward I's keeper of the wardrobe for the period 20 November 1295 to 20 November 1298, shows him to have received £40 from William del Hayghe, sheriff of Inverness, *pro xl lib. quas rex Scotiae soluisse debuit regi Norwegiae de quadam summa centum marcarum ei debitarum pro quibusdam insulis Scotiae* (J. Stevenson, op. cit., ii, No. cccxlv).

⁶ For the text see *A.P.S.*, i, 421-4.

⁷ See J. Stevenson, op. cit., i, No. cclii.

satisfaction, as he was entitled to do by the terms of the treaty, in the form of assignments upon the rents of the lands of Ratho, Bathgate, Balhelvy, and Rothiemay, extended at 700 marks yearly. On the death of Alexander III, payment of the annuity was stopped.

In return for an advance of 2,800 marks from two merchants of Cahors, William d'Averson and William Servat, Eric had assigned them the arrears of the 700 marks annuity due to him for the four years ending in Pentecost 1290.¹ Sometime in that year, Eric of Norway and Haakon, his brother, requested Edward to intercede with the Scottish guardians in favour of the two Cahorsin merchants. The Scottish guardians were to be admonished by Edward to comply with the letters Eric sent them, and to make payment to the merchants in Eric's name. Edward was asked to act in such a way that the merchants might feel that Eric's requests to him had been fruitful.²

If Edward did intercede, his efforts may have been profitable: for by 1292 the Norwegians claimed only three years arrears, those for the preceding three years, that is from 1286 to 1289, having presumably been paid by the Scots.³

During the interregnum, however, more arrears had accumulated and the matter was again raised. The envoys whom Eric sent in 1292 to press his unsuccessful claim in the Great Cause pleaded with more success before Edward for the resumption of the annual payments and for the restitution of arrears.⁴ Before Edward's parliament at Berwick in the Trinity term of 1292, judgment was given against the Scottish guardians; and for the lifetime of Eric the Norwegians were awarded recovery of seisin of the rents, together with the arrears of the previous three years.⁵

The judgment which Edward had given in favour of the

¹ *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xix, 268, 269.

² *Ibid.*, xix, 268, 269.

³ Audun Hugleiksson acknowledged receipt of 350 marks from the lands of Ratho and Bathgate on behalf of the Maid of Norway (*A.P.S.*, i, 115). See also J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, i, No. cclii.

⁴ The letters of attorney of the Norwegian envoys (see Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, R.S., i, 40) show that they were charged not only with the prosecution of Eric's claim to the Scottish throne, but to plead for the 700 mark annuity of Margaret's dowry, and to claim in addition the revenues of Scotland for the period between the death of Alexander III and that of the Maid of Norway *quia fuimus legitimus administrator bonorum Reginae praefatas cum viveret*. Less realistic was Eric's claim that the Scots should be obliged to pay him a fine of £100,000 on account of their supposed disobedience towards his daughter (*ibid.*, 40-41).

⁵ The process is printed in *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, i, 105-6.

Norwegians was by no means the end of his connection with the Norwegian rents in Scotland. During the remaining months of the interregnum, it was Edward's direct responsibility to see that the award he had made was executed. Edward was the ultimate recipient and dispenser of the Scottish revenues. Scottish officials had to account before his auditors.¹ Long after Edward had relinquished the direct rule of Scotland, arrears of these accounts remained to be collected²; and upon *these* arrears he gave assignments to the Norwegians for the payment of the arrears which were due to them.

On 26 December 1292, John Balliol did homage to Edward at Newcastle. He was probably still there,³ and may have been consulted when letters dated at Newcastle on 28 December 1292 were sent out in Edward's name to John de Soules, sheriff of Berwick. They stated that the sheriff was bound to Edward in £182 15s. 10d. for his arrears of the accounts of the sheriffdom. Of this money Edward had assigned £100 to Master Peter Algotsson (or Algoti), clerk of the king of Norway. Payment was to be made to Algotsson at Berwick and allowance made in the sheriff's arrears.⁴ It is not mentioned on what account the money was to be paid, or even whether Algotsson was to receive it on behalf of Eric. But there is more certainty in the case of assignments made upon other Scottish officials. Writs, again dated at Newcastle on 28 December 1292, were addressed in Edward's name to the bailies of Linlithgow, who were told that the £59 2s. 1d. in which they were bound to Edward in the arrears of their account had been assigned by him to Eric of Norway in part payment of £802 16s. 10½d. owed to him for the ferm of the rents of Ratho, Bathgate, Balhelvy and Rothiemay which he had recovered in Edward's court. Eric was to be satisfied so that he should have no cause to complain to Edward; and the money thus paid to him was to be allowed to the bailies in their arrears.⁵ Similar payments were to be made by others: by writs of the same date, William Sinclair, sheriff of Edinburgh, the burgesses of Ayr, John, earl of Atholl, fermar of Rothiemay, and the bailies of Edinburgh were ordered to pay sums of money to Eric.⁶ By a further writ of 5 January 1293 to the

¹ *Rotuli Scotiae*, i, 12. See also *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 800-1, fifth article.

² *Rotuli Scotiae*, i, pp. 20-21.

³ He and Edward were in Newcastle on 31 December 1292 (*Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 783).

⁴ *Rotuli Scotiae*, i, 15.

⁵ *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 785.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 785.

burghesses of Linlithgow, the total assignments were brought up to the required sum of £802 16s. 10½d.¹

What was the significance of this last sum? In all probability, it represented the arrears of the rents which had been awarded by Edward in his court at Berwick. If so, it fell short of the Norwegian claim for three years arrears at the rate of 700 marks yearly. What Edward had awarded was the actual revenue of the lands in the preceding three years; and he had rejected the Norwegian claim that the rents should be made up to 700 marks yearly by a supplementary assignment upon the lands of Minnemorth.²

Among the five envoys of the Norwegian king who had pleaded his case before Edward at Berwick in the Trinity Parliament of 1292 was Master Peter Algotsson.³ He had loaned money to King Eric, and received in return letters of attorney and an assignment upon the monies due to Eric from Scotland.⁴ For the payment of these, as we have seen, Edward had in turn granted assignments upon arrears due to *him* from Scotland. But the Scottish officials in arrears to Edward were finding opposition in raising the money with which they had been charged. In this situation was the earl of Atholl, fermar of Rothiemay, for the rents of which he was assigned to answer to the attorney of the Norwegian king.⁵ Writs of 8 December 1292 were directed to John Balliol ordering him to permit Atholl and others to collect the rents of their bailiaries in arrears since the previous Martinmas.⁶ Algotsson's security for the money he had advanced to Eric was an assignment by Eric upon an assignment by Edward upon arrears which the Scots could not or would not pay.

¹ *Rotuli Scotiae*, i, 16.

² For the process see *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, i, 105-6.

³ *Ibid.*, 105. Letters of credence of 1 April 1289 describe Algotsson as *quondam regni Sueciae cancellarium*. He was among the Norwegian envoys empowered to treat of the marriage of the Maid of Norway (*Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xix, 230-1). Of the five Norwegian envoys in 1292, he was not the only one to be concerned with the receipt of funds from Scotland. By a writ of 18 August 1291, Edward ordered the chamberlain of Scotland to pay £200 to Master Hugucio, *domini Papae capellanus* for his services to the Maid of Norway (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i, 5). Further writs of 3 January 1293 ordered this payment to be made in two instalments at Berwick in Pentecost and Martinmas to Raynerio, a Florentine whom Hugucio had appointed his attorney (*ibid.*, i, 15). A writ of 23 August 1291 states that Master Hugucio, in consideration of his behaviour and deserts had been created a king's clerk. (*C.P.R.*, 1281-1292, 442.)

⁴ *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 786.

⁵ *Rotuli Scotiae*, i, 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 12.

If Algotsson and the Norwegian king were to make good their claims, they required the co-operation of Edward, still effectively lord superior of Scotland. By a timely gift of a pair of falcons and a pair of goshawks, Algotsson secured the good offices of Edward, who, in letters of 8 February 1293, attempted to resolve the difficulties which had by that time beset Algotsson in the collection of his money, and to inform Algotsson and the Norwegian king of his good intentions in the matter.

One letter was addressed to John Balliol.¹ It recounted that Eric of Norway had recently notified Edward that Master Peter Algotsson was his creditor in a certain sum of money for which he had assigned his Scottish revenues. Eric had given Edward to understand that certain people had tried to obstruct Algotsson in his business. The letter went on to ask (*Vos amicabiliter rogamus*) that Balliol should promote Algotsson's affairs if the latter's requirements were reasonable and his power of attorney in order. The letter was politely, and by no means forcefully, expressed.

Quite a different impression was conveyed by the letters of the same date addressed to Algotsson² and the Norwegian king. Algotsson was thanked for the present of the falcons and goshawks and many other fine gifts which he had oftentimes sent to Edward. Edward had made special requests to the Scottish king to further Algotsson's affairs; and if Balliol should not comply with these requests, Algotsson was advised that he or his representatives should be present on or about Trinity Sunday (24 May 1293) at the forthcoming English parliament to which the Scottish king had been cited for another reason,³ so that Algotsson might then state his case before Edward and his council and receive favourable consideration (*Et nos pro vobis adtunc faciemus quod facere poterimus bono modo*).⁴

Much the same information was enclosed in Edward's letter of the same date to Eric.⁵ The payment of money to Algotsson in Scotland had been retarded *ad suggestionem quorundam sibi adversantium*. Since Eric had asked Edward to cause remedy to be applied, the latter had pressed demands upon the Scottish king; and if it should happen that Balliol failed to facilitate the business according to Edward's commands, Eric was to send someone on or about Trinity Sunday to state his case before

¹ *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 786. ² *Ibid.*, i, pt. ii, 786.

³ He was cited to answer Macduff (*Ibid.*, 789).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 786.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 786.

the king, to whose presence Balliol had been summoned for another cause; *Nam in hiis & in aliis vos tangentibus, faciemus libenter quod pro vobis utpote pro caro amico nostro facere poterimus bono modo.*¹ To the Norwegians, Edward had given the impression that he had exerted strong pressure upon Balliol to expedite the payments. Balliol was to be confronted by their claims in the presence of his lord superior, and in a place remote from obstructionist influence.

Were the Norwegian claims raised in the English parliament? The Easter parliament of 1293 continued well into the summer,² if not in the form of a full-scale assembly of magnates, at least in that of a judicial session of king and council for the purpose of trying parliamentary pleas. Among the *Placita coram ipso Domino Rege et Consilio suo ad Parlamentum suum post Pascha* is to be found an exemplification of the judgment which Edward had rendered in favour of the Norwegians at Berwick in the previous year. The preamble states: *Ut processui qui sequitur adhibeatur in posterum plena fides, Nos Edwardus [etc.] ad firmitatem majorem ipsum duximus sigilli nostri munimine roborandum.*³ This reaffirmation of the Berwick judgment with no mention of how it was to be implemented suggests that the matter was not fully discussed but merely recorded for future reference.

Little else could be done: for Balliol had not been cited to answer the Norwegians, and although he *had* been cited to answer Macduff on the morrow of Trinity Sunday, he did not appear.⁴ There is no trace of further parliamentary action on the Norwegian claims. Nor is there any direct reference to them in a summary of financial negotiations between Balliol and Edward dated at London on 14 May 1293.⁵ From this schedule it may be inferred that Balliol was in financial difficulties. To some of his petitions for remission or reduction of debts he received favourable answers. But he pleaded without success for consideration in respect of the arrears and debts of the kingdom of Scotland which had not yet been assigned. In such circumstances he was unlikely to encourage the Norwegian claims, the less so since in the summer of 1293 Eric of Norway had married Isabella Bruce, apparently with the approval of

¹ *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 786.

² See *Rotuli Parliamentorum Anglie Hactenus Inediti*, MCCLXXIX-MCCCLXXIII (Camden Series), II, 26.

³ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, i, 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 111.

⁵ *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 800-1.

Edward I,¹ and no doubt in order to gain over the Bruce interest in Scotland to his support² at a time when relations between Bruce and Balliol were probably strained.³

Nor were the Norwegians alone in pressing financial claims upon the Scots. At Balliol's parliament in Stirling in August 1293 appeared proctors of the count of Flanders, claiming 1,500 marks by reason of the dower of Margaret, daughter of the count, widow of Alexander III's elder son.⁴

On 16 November 1293, Edward again wrote to Balliol about the Norwegian rents in Scotland, declaring that Eric had not been given satisfaction, and ordering that such satisfaction be made lest Edward himself should be compelled to take action (*quod nos manum ad hoc apponere non cogamur*).⁵ Thereafter, the question of the Norwegian lands and rents in Scotland appears to have been left unsettled. Balliol had too many financial, and no doubt political, worries of his own to force through the Norwegian payments in the face of the opposition alluded to in the letters of Eric and Edward. The latter was occupied with the onset of his dispute with France and the Welsh revolt.

Had the Norwegians remained silent about their claims, there would be little to link the problem of their lands and rents in Scotland to the conclusion of the Franco-Scottish and Franco-Norwegian alliances. But the matter was almost certainly raised again when a Norwegian envoy saw Edward at Aberconway (1294-5).⁶ The subjects then discussed can be inferred

¹ Edward's chancery issued letters of protection dated 27 July 1293 in favour of Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, in respect of a visit to Norway (*C.P.R.*, 1292-1301, 33). See also J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, i, No. cclxxvi.

² '... pour ne pas perdre sa place en Ecosse il épousa la sœur de Robert Bruce' (L. Musset, *Les Peuples Scandinaves au Moyen Âge*, 208). Isabella Bruce outlived Eric by about sixty years, spending her long widowhood at Bergen (see K. Gjerset, *op. cit.*, i, 483). Thanks, no doubt, to his sister's influence, Robert Bruce was possibly able to take refuge in Orkney, if not in Norway itself, during the desperate winter of 1306-7 (see *The Brut*, E.E.T.S., ed. F. W. D. Brie, p. 202). In later years Bruce cultivated a Norwegian friendship: in 1312 he resumed payment of the 100 marks 'annual' in respect of the Western Isles, and at Inverness negotiated with Norwegian envoys a settlement of outstanding disputes (see *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, ii, 95-96, 98-100).

³ By January 1294 Balliol had been opposed by Bruce over the election to the bishopric of Galloway (see J. Raine, *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, R.S., 104-5, Nos. LXIII and LXIV. See also *ibid.*, No. ciii).

⁴ *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 791. After arbitration by the bishop of Durham, Balliol admitted the Flemish claim (16 May 1294). The process may be studied in J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 303-10; 399-401; 403-6; 419-20; and 421-2.

⁵ *Foedera*, i, pt. ii, 792.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 121, notes 4 and 5.

only from the letters of credence of Snaro, a Norwegian envoy sent to Edward in 1299.¹ These letters allude to matters raised at Aberconway four or five years previously. The claim had then, apparently, been made that the Western Isles belonged of right to Norway, since Magnus IV had ceded them to Alexander III for an annual sum of money, on default of which the islands should revert to Norway.² John Balliol had taken possession of the islands, but defaulted upon payment, so that, the Norwegians claimed, the islands had devolved upon them.

The Norwegian envoy at Aberconway in 1295 had been instructed to seek Edward's counsel upon this matter (and probably other cognate matters); and Edward had advised the Norwegian king by letter *quod jus suum in eisdem quam cicius et commodius posset recuperaret*.³ This answer was no doubt intended to be conciliatory; but it was too vague to be encouraging. The negotiations at Aberconway in 1295 failed to bring the active English support which the Norwegians wanted, and which they wanted again in 1299. Edward was unwilling to afford this active support in 1295 before the conclusion of the Franco-Scottish alliance in the same year had shown the breach with Scotland to be irreparable. By that time, his temporising had cost him the regard of the Norwegians, who, in October 1295, allied themselves with France.

If this is the explanation of whatever anti-English feeling underlies Eric's alliance with Philip in 1295, why did the Norwegians allow themselves to be drawn into an entente with the Scots, whose obstruction was at the root of the whole business? The answer is probably that the latter, rejecting the demands of their overlord, were nonetheless willing to countenance the intercessions of their new ally, France. It is clear that the French regarded themselves as arbiters between their two allies; and in the negotiations at Paris with Audun Hugleiksson and the Scottish envoys, the French had already made progress in the Norwegian interest. The letters patent of the Scottish envoys⁴ not only renounced war with Norway but went on to say that the Scottish king would restore the

¹ See text in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xix, 454, and also in J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, ii, No. DLVI.

² This was not stated in the text of the treaty of Perth of 1266. Non-observance of the terms of the treaty by either side was to make the offending party liable to a fine of 10,000 marks on pain of papal excommunication. See the text in *A.P.S.*, i, 420-1.

³ J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, ii, No. DLVI.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, No. CCCXLIV.

land and goods which the Norwegian king was known to have in Scotland. The clause was vague; the land and goods were not specified; but the principle of restitution was accepted.

The Franco-Scottish alliance, the first of several, had repercussions which lasted for over two and a half centuries. Far different was the sequel of the Franco-Norwegian alliance—of all the pacts made in the course of the dispute between Philip and Edward one of the most ephemeral. The French did not intend it to be so. They paid 6,000 marks to Audun Huggleiksson as an advance upon the aid to be received from Norway.¹ Did the Norwegians, having received this money (without apparently giving hostages), ignore their obligations? Did the French envoys who were sent to Norway in the winter of 1295² report back that the Norwegians were incapable of providing aid on the scale envisaged in the treaty?³ Or, what is more likely, did the English come to know of the treaty⁴ and bribe the Norwegians into neutrality? This is the most probable explanation: for in the autumn of 1296, Edward was busy purchasing new alliances, and possibly enticing Philip's adherents into forgetfulness of their contracts.⁵ Having obtained 6,000 marks from the French, the Norwegians were no doubt open to English offers. The abject abdication of John Balliol on 10 July 1296 had shown that the good offices of France would no longer avail to secure payment of the Scottish rents and their arrears. The lord superior of Scotland had finally asserted his authority; and only by renewed collaboration with him could the Norwegians obtain settlement of their Scottish claims. By 1297, they were sending envoys to England, probably to reaffirm their attachment to Edward.⁶

¹ *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xix, 444 et seq.

² *Ibid.*, xix, 449, 450.

³ Opinions vary as to whether the provision of 300 ships and 50,000 men was altogether beyond the resources of Norway. De la Roncière states (*op. cit.*, p. 423): 'Ces chiffres fantastiques n'excédaient pourtant point les ressources de la presqu'île scandinave', founding his assertion upon figures for the tenth and eleventh centuries quoted in Pardessus, *Lois Maritimes*, iii, 19. The opposite and more probable view is held by K. Gjerset, *op. cit.*, i, 482.

⁴ There seem to be no notices of it in English sources of the period. It is mentioned, together with the advance payment to the Norwegians, in the French document printed by F. Funck-Brentano (*op. cit.*, 331).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 332-3.

⁶ J. Bain, *op. cit.*, ii, No. 961: safe conducts for eight Norwegian envoys coming to England. Even before this, by a writ of 11 January 1297, a burgess of Yarmouth was given leave to sail to Norway to buy masts, a transaction unlikely in time of hostility (*C.P.R.*, 1292-1301, 227).

It was in the interests of neither side to draw attention to the temporary rupture.

In 1299 the Norwegian mission led by Snaro was to affirm that Haakon still trusted in Edward's counsel and without it did not intend to take steps against those who withheld his rights.¹ Snaro's letters of credence² indicate the extent of the then unsettled Norwegian claims upon the Scots. Among these was the question of Margaret's dowry: Haakon, no doubt as the heir of Eric, sought letters to Edward's officials in Scotland to ensure that the arrears be paid. In addition, he claimed the revenues of Scotland for the period between the death of Alexander III and that of the Maid of Norway, asserting that judgment in the matter had been passed by Edward at Berwick. Haakon, moreover, affirmed his readiness to join with Edward in fighting the Scots in the Western Isles (which he claimed) both for his own rights and those of Edward, and requested that Edward's officials in Scotland be directed to co-operate with a Norwegian expeditionary force.

Of the six items in Snaro's credence, the first two were mere diplomatic formalities, the next three, Norwegian claims upon the Scots, were obviously the chief objects of the mission; the remaining item sought agreement that Norwegian merchants coming to England should not be subject to arrest of ships and goods save for their own debts.³ The conclusion to be drawn is that in 1299 relations between England and Norway were still principally concerned with Norwegian claims in Scotland and the attitude of Edward toward them.

The breach between England and Scotland which led to war between the two countries could not be concealed. Edward's policy toward the Franco-Scottish alliance was to advertise its destruction in a blaze of publicity. Its humiliating end was well-documented as an example to others.⁴

Unnoticed by contemporaries both on its advent and its demise, the Franco-Norwegian alliance left no subsequent trace. Just as the French and the Scots were to have been the

¹ J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, ii, No. DLVI.

² *Ibid.*, p. 358.

³ A letter of Haakon to the burgesses of Lynn on a similar topic, dated 23 August 1299, is printed in H. Swinden, *The History and Antiquities of the Ancient Burgh of Great Yarmouth*, 16-17.

⁴ See J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, ii, No. CCCLXXII. Edward forced not only John Balliol but many of the Scottish nobles to renounce the Franco-Scottish alliance. An instrument composed of transcripts of these renunciations is preserved in the French archives (Archives Nationales, Série J.631, No. 6). It may have been sent to France by Edward.

more closely allied by the marriage of Edward Balliol to a niece of Philip IV, a royal marriage was to have linked French and Norwegians. The envoys whom Philip sent to Norway in November 1295 were empowered by the countess of Joigny to treat of the marriage of her daughter and duke Haakon.¹ But Haakon, who in 1294 had professed a wish to be guided by Edward I in the choice of a bride, selected neither an English nor a French consort; before he succeeded his brother on the Norwegian throne he had married a German princess.²

In the attempts of Edward and Philip to enlist foreign support, to build up and to break through an encircling coalition, a system of alliances, ententes and counter-alliances had been strung across Europe from Savoy in the south to Norway in the north. Had the alliances and ententes concluded between the years 1294 and 1297 been as binding in practice as they were on parchment, most of western Europe would have been involved in war. But the mercenary allies of the one side were open to counter-bribery by the other, so that the diplomacy of the contestants, although expensive and far-reaching, brought few soldiers to the field and few ships to the sea. The efforts of the papacy were continually directed toward a peace, which both sides, by 1297, were content to accept, abandoning their allies both Flemish and Scottish, and patching up their quarrel with royal marriages.

RANALD NICHOLSON.³

¹ MS. Paris, Archives Nationales, Série J.457, No. 9.

² See *Hanserecesse* (ed. Koppman), i, No. 80.

³ Assistant Lecturer in History in the University of Edinburgh.

Reviews

KING JAMES IV¹

It is right that the story of a romantic King of Scots should be written by a poet. Mr R. L. Mackie presents the portrait of a Renaissance King, the mainspring of his government; of abounding energy and insatiable curiosity; a lover of ladies yet strict in religious observance; interested in sport and alchemy, in music and artillery, in building of ships and of palaces—though it appears (p. 299) that the navy was less good than has been supposed; interested too in the everyday life of his people.

This presentation of James as a many-sided man is not new, but Mr Mackie tries for a new angle, confessedly emphasising the social and cultural aspects of the reign rather than its constitutional importance. The book, which bears the sub-title, *A Brief Survey of his Life and Times*, is perhaps rather the study of the reign than of the man, and though the man emerges it is less from the express judgment of the writer than from the conclusions to be drawn by the reader.

With the sixteenth-century historians Mr Mackie is very much at home, and from them he has produced much that is picturesque, sometimes with a *caveat*, but he has relied very much on documentary authority.

For his study of life at court, he has made excellent use of the colourful *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*. He might perhaps have consulted the Household Books in the Register House for information as to the everyday economy of the palace. For burgh life he has drawn successfully from the records of Edinburgh and Aberdeen for the most part, though he has used also good material from Dundee and other towns. In his account of the historic development of the burgh in Scotland he has used the standard authorities. It is possible that if he had had the opportunity of consulting the recent studies of Professor Dickinson and Professor Pryde before he wrote he might have modified the accepted account. It seems that burgh elections prior to 1469 were less popular than has been supposed, and that greater cognisance should be taken of the mediatised burghs to which the name burgh of barony was given later than has been generally assumed.

In his consideration of ecclesiastical affairs Mr Mackie has made

¹ *King James IV of Scotland: A Brief Survey of His Life and Times*. By R. L. Mackie. Pp. xii, 300. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1958. 25s.

effective use of the material supplied in the books of Herkless and Hannay and, amongst other things, of Boece's *Lives* of the Bishops of Aberdeen. He has also called to his aid the *Lives* of the Bishops of Dunkeld by Alexander Myln, a source hitherto little exploited. His evidence shows the essential justice of the 'Apologue of the Partan' set forth in *The Complaynt of Scotland*—the heads of the Scottish Church were appointed for reasons other than their spiritual merits.

In the literature of the period Mr Mackie is at his best, and his judgments are very interesting. To Dunbar he does not accord the unqualified admiration given by many writers. He does full justice to the all-round competence of a versatile poet, and rightly (in the opinion of this writer) credits him with the authorship of the well-known poem on the City of London, which has been disputed; but he finds Dunbar self-centred, self-seeking and failing in humanity. Gavin Douglas, he thinks, was a far better scholar, who rose to great heights when he displayed the Scottish scene; but his own favourite is surely Henryson who, though he indulged in the moralisings proper to a dominie, had a heart full of sympathy for his fellow men.

Constitutional affairs the author, of deliberate intent, passes over lightly; yet in so doing he omits some evidence which tells in favour of the King. The monarch who was 'gretlye lauborit in his propir persone' in the general Session at Edinburgh in 1503, should be set alongside the prince who installed one of his mistresses in Darnaway Castle, so convenient for a devotee who paid frequent visits to St. Duthac's shrine; and in his picture of the political scene, to which he brought the learning evident in his edition of *Letters of James IV, 1505-1513* (Scottish History Society), he is something less than fair to his hero. He shows us a romantic monarch who, led by the idle dream of a crusade, became the victim of realist princes; who yet was keenly alive to his contingent interest in the English throne; who 'wanted war', prepared for war, and led his country to destruction at Flodden. It is refreshing to find, in these days, a writer whose patriotism does not express itself in constant denigration of the English, but the fact is that the responsibility for war rests far more on Henry VIII than on James. There is no proof that James did not believe in the crusade; and considering the giant strides by which the Turks advanced against Europe in the sixteenth century it may appear that in this instance, as in others, the idealist was right and the realists were wrong. The evidence shows that James was reluctant to take up arms, especially by way of direct invasion, and that it was only after the failure of De Rieux' mission to London in the spring of 1512 that France urged him to do so. Before he is condemned as 'infatuated' in his venture his position should be closely considered. He was, after all, bound to France by the Auld Alliance and he had to think what would be his position if he cast away his old ally and let Louis succumb to

the arrogant Henry—who had failed to keep the terms of his treaty with Scotland and was not disposed, as the preamble to the Subsidy Act of 1512 shows, to forget the old opinion that the King of Scots was his 'very homager and obediencer'. Moreover, before James is condemned as mansworn for his breach of a treaty made under Papal sanction, it must be remembered that Henry had already broken treaties with Scotland and France, to which he was sworn and which were supported by Papal sanction.

In his account of the actual battle Mr Mackie adheres in the main to the traditional view summarised briefly by Andrew Lang long ago, that the English success was due to better discipline, better artillery, the sterling quality of the English levies and the headlong ardour of James. He makes a good point when he shows that the English guns (p. 263, note 4) were lighter and handier than those of the Scots, but he does not consider the possibility that the guns of the Scots, which had been in position in the fortified camp on Flodden Edge, could hardly have been brought into effective position on Branxton Edge in the time at the disposal of James. That the English guns played some part in forcing the Scots to come down from the hill is likely enough, but one cannot take at face value the *ex post facto* accounts of the cleric and the pamphleteer about the performance of the Scottish guns. All that the 'official' English account, 'The Articles of Battle', says of the Scottish guns was that they were captured; from other evidence it may seem that the English found them abandoned only on the morrow of the battle. The fact is that there is no real Scottish account of the action and that the various English versions cannot be completely reconciled. At all events Mr Mackie has given us a lively picture, feeling himself the surge and throb of the conflict.

A few minor points may be noted. Thomas More's speech in Parliament (p. 93), if indeed it was ever delivered in the form as stated by Roper (Chambers, *Thomas More*, p. 87), could not have in any case affected Henry's action; for it was delivered in 1504 long after the treaty with Scotland was made and the marriage completed. The debate of that year was concerned with the method of raising an aid not only for Margaret's marriage but for the knighting of Arthur. Following Dr Mackay MacKenzie, Mr Mackie identifies the Donald Owre of Dunbar's poem with the famous Donald Dhu; but the Donald Owre mentioned in the *Treasurer's Accounts* under the year 1494 as being in the King's service was surely, for reasons of date, and other reasons, a different person; and the editor of the *Treasurer's Accounts* does not identify the two men. There seems to be no reason to depart from the accepted view that the real Donald Dhu remained a prisoner till 1501. There are a few misprints: *Gratis* (p. 170), should be *Gracia*; and the description of Surrey given by Angus (according to Pitscottie) was 'ane auld cruikit

cairll' not 'earle' (p. 251); but in the main the printing is excellent and the book is enriched by some excellent illustrations. Altogether the author must be thanked for a most interesting study which it is a pleasure to read.

J. D. MACKIE.¹

SHORT NOTICES

AYRSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY COLLECTIONS, 1955-1957. Pp. 274. Published by the Society (copies available from the Carnegie Library, Ayr). 15s.

The fourth volume of *Collections* (1955-7) of the Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society maintains the high standards of its predecessors both in production and contents. If the historical articles savour of consolidation rather than advance, they cover a variety of topics and are consistently well-documented.

Professor G. S. Pryde provides a general analysis of the origin, status and development of the Ayrshire burghs. His examination of Irvine's early documents disposes conclusively of the errors of earlier commentators; and he develops an interesting theme in relating the rise of burghs of barony as much to the emergence of a new baronage as to real economic needs. Concerning the formative period from 1450 to 1560, however, one hoped for something more than the bald statement that Ayr and Irvine followed the 'normal [*sic*] pattern of evolution'. Precise information about methods and personnel may be scarce, but some evidence for fifteenth-century Ayr does exist in a volume of unpublished burgh court records (1428-78), now in the Register House, Edinburgh. Expert scrutiny of sporadic references there to the activities of the 'inquest', the 'great inquest', the 'commissio burgi', the 'commissio generalis', the 'consilium generale', and the 'standing commission' might disclose the design of the 'pattern of evolution' whereby a town council emerged from these various administrative bodies within the burgh court. It is a matter of concern that a record which has been raided for specialised studies (including those on other burghs) can be so neglected for the history of Ayr itself.

The interest of the above court book is not confined to burghal administration. A decree of 9 October 1465 concerning the boundaries of the 'hows and land of the Trinite of Fayllfurd' within the

¹ Professor Emeritus of Scottish History and Literature in the University of Glasgow.

burgh may interest Mr W. J. Dillon who contributes an informative article on that obscure house. Nevertheless, his calendar of documents relating to Failford and its possessions is compiled from a remarkable variety of sources and periods. Mr G. W. S. Barrow reviews the evidence for the short-lived Gilbertine house at Dal-milling with the scholarly economy to be expected from the author of *Feudal Britain*. Even the unrepentant non-medievalist, who is not interested in charters for their own sake, may find it difficult to resist the charm of the letter by a prospective patron stressing the attractions of a proposed site for a new monastery, although he may feel that it is rather stretching things (even for a medievalist) to compare that evidence (c. 1228) with the report on the same area in the *Third Statistical Account* (1951).

Collectors of signatures to the National Covenant are probably even rarer than charter addicts, but it is mildly surprising to be told by Sir James Fergusson that he has not found such a signature by Mr Hew Cathcart, tutor of Carleton. A good specimen appears on a Carrick Covenant published in a previous number of these *Collections*. Otherwise, an excellent account of the ancient Carrick family of Cathcart of Carleton and Killochan sets a standard for future studies to correct and supplement Paterson's *History of Ayrshire*. Sir James Fergusson brings the full resources of the public records to the service of family history; Dr A. I. Dunlop proves that family correspondence can complement the public records. As their editor remarks, the letters of the first earl of Dundonald (1605-85) mirror an age 'marked by intellectual and spiritual ferment, by the clash of religious opinions and economic upheaval'.

In Volume 3 of these *Collections* Dr John Strawhorn, joint editor of the *Third Statistical Account for Ayrshire*, reviewed the progress of farming in eighteenth-century Ayrshire. He now continues his series of articles on 'The Background to Burns' with a comprehensive survey of the development of industry and commerce during the period, based on material drawn from a variety of printed sources. Here again, however, one senses a danger of consolidation out-running basic research. In agriculture, a detailed examination of (e.g.) the fine series of Carrick rentals in the Ailsa Muniments, now in the Register House, might amend time-honoured generalisations on such questions as security of tenure and burden of services. In commerce, Sir James Fergusson's article on a wine-merchant's letter-book (1766-71) shows that business records, hitherto much neglected in Scotland, can supply 'economic facts' as opposed to 'economic theory'. One letter in the book reveals a delightful eighteenth-century subterfuge for evading import duty.

An admirable Ayrshire bibliography (1947-57), compiled by Mr J. W. Forsyth of the Carnegie Library, Ayr, is helpful and should make it possible to dispense with the policy of reprinting from other

publications, of which two examples occur in this number. It is also to be hoped that some of the even more ambitious volumes of *Collections* promised for the future will concentrate upon sources which still remain in manuscript.

JOHN IMRIE.

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND. By F. Engels. Translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner. Pp. xxxi, 386. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1958. 25s.

It is certainly surprising and disappointing to read, in the editors' introduction, that Engels's passionate and biased indictment of the English bourgeoisie has been widely accepted by economic historians as a reliable description of social conditions in Britain in the early 1840's. Whatever merits may be accorded to the book, it has never been a reliable and balanced account of the facts. There are many better sources of information. The importance of Engels's book lies elsewhere: perhaps, as Henderson and Chaloner say, in the light that it throws upon the intellectual development of a young revolutionary; perhaps, and here I would give the book higher marks than the editors have awarded it, as an attempt at a synthesis and as an approach to the materialist conception of history.

Engels, despite the title, wrote about the United Kingdom. There are many references to Scotland, but there is none of value. Engels can have acquired little knowledge of Scotland during his initial visit of about twenty months to Manchester. The sources from which he quotes include several Scottish authors—notably Sir Archibald Alison and W. P. Alison—but there do not appear to have been any Scottish newspapers among the pile in which Engels told Marx that he buried himself when he was putting together the book. There are many inaccuracies in the Scottish references: we read, for example, of the absence of a poor law (p. 100). Again, the accounts of Glasgow and Edinburgh, unlike the description of Manchester, consist merely of short extracts from published sources. Engels has nothing of direct interest to offer to the historians of Scotland.

The editors are to be congratulated on producing an easily-read translation of the original German first edition of 1845. To it they have added an interesting account by Engels of a strike of building trade operatives in Manchester. There are also a critical introduction and footnotes, and a good index. The book will always be important in the history of Socialist thought, but, in addition, this combination of Engels and his new editors might now safely be recommended to students, not as a reliable account of social conditions in the 1840's but, thanks to the editors' footnotes, as an introduction to the problems of historical method.

A. D. CAMPBELL.

HISTORICAL STUDIES, I. Edited by T. Desmond Williams. Pp. viii, 99. London: Bowes and Bowes. 1958. 10s. 6d.

Irish historians in recent years have met in conference to hear papers on Irish and general history. The lectures of the conference held in 1955 are now made available as a book. There is something here for all tastes. Professor Michael Oakshott provides a concentrated analysis of 'The activity of being an historian', Professor T. Desmond Williams surveys recent accounts, official and otherwise, of the origins of the Second World War, and Mr B. H. G. Wormald reviews 'The Historiography of the English Reformation'. But the most valuable studies are Professor D. B. Quinn's absorbing discussion of 'Ireland and sixteenth century European expansion'; Mr H. F. Kearney's examination of 'Mercantilism and Ireland, 1620-40' with its reassessment of the policy of Wentworth; and the very important paper by Professor Michael Roberts on 'Gustavus Adolphus and the Art of War', which provides a clear and convincing picture of the evolution of armies and tactics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of significance in a rather different way is the survey compiled by the late E. St. John Brooks of the 'Sources of Medieval Anglo-Irish History'; this is completed by a detailed bibliographical note by Father A. Gwynn, S.J. A mixture of regional and non-regional history might well be practised in other parts of Britain. Is there not a place for conferences of Scottish historians from time to time?

DENYS HAY.

THE BRITISH PAPER INDUSTRY 1495-1860. A STUDY IN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH. By D. C. Coleman. Pp. xvi, 355. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1958. 55s.

Much has been written about paper, little about the making of it. As regards the United States of America and Sweden this statement requires qualification; but not as regards the United Kingdom. Mr Coleman's book does much to dispel our ignorance of the history of the industry. He begins in 1495, the earliest date yet known for a paper mill in operation in this country, and carries the story down to the beginnings of the development of rag substitutes, notably esparto grass, as the raw material of the industry in the early 1860's.

The manufacture of paper has never been a major British industry. It is not quite certain how much employment the industry offered in 1860, but the best guess seems to be in the region of 50,000; this is a small fraction of the numbers engaged in the cotton, woollen and iron manufactures at the time. But it is nothing against the paper industry that it was small—nothing against its importance then or its

interest to us now. Except for building, we know relatively too much about the big industries already. Smaller industries were often of great significance to the economy, and the study of their development often sheds a new light on the general course, causes and problems of economic progress.

The paper industry is of unusually general interest because it was, and to a lesser extent still is, so widely spread geographically. 'Quick streams and clear water'—this was the first pre-requisite of success, and so the industry in the eighteenth century was to be found in most English and a scattering of Scottish counties. There is evidence, indeed, of increased dispersion of the industry at this time, both in England and in Scotland, where it spread from the old-established centres of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen into such places as Dalbeattie, Kirkcudbright and the neighbourhood of Perth. Output in Scotland rose rapidly from about 1760, and by 1791 printing paper was being shipped to London, instead of, as formerly, being brought from there.

The trend towards greater dispersion of the industry was reversed after the introduction of machinery about 1806. Mr Coleman's account of the development and gradual adoption of the Fourdrinier process is the central point of interest in his book, and he tells the story with admirable clarity. He traces, too, the consequences for the volume of output and the size of plants. Mechanisation, undoubtedly, brought England out of the ranks of the also-ran in paper-making, and converted her into one of the leading paper-making countries in the world. For Scotland the results were even more remarkable. Whereas English output increased about fivefold between 1800 and 1855, Scots output increased about fifteenfold, with the result that whereas Scotland accounted for about nine per cent of total British output in 1800 she accounted for nearly twenty-two per cent in 1855. It is not clear why Scotland was able to increase her share in this way. Scots manufacturers do not seem to have been especially quick to adopt the new processes. Perhaps the main reason was Scotland's concentration on medium- and good-quality printing papers, although the ready availability of sea transport and the swift growth of urban centres near which paper could conveniently be produced may also have been factors.

It is one of the merits of Mr Coleman's book that he asks the economic questions. As well as dealing with problems of innovation and location, he discusses wages, the supply of raw materials and—at some length—taxation and protection. In this connection, however, is there much justification for claiming that the history of paper-making in this country is 'the classic case of the "infant industry" argument for protection' (p. 146)? What was protected for so long—and, as he says, possibly at no small cost—was the old handicraft manufacture; the industry which ultimately 'forged ahead of its

continental rivals' (p. 145) was the machine-using industry, its progress having little effect on the old-fashioned vat trade, 'an industry . . . becoming economically separated from its mechanized relative' (p. 301). Whether protection is or is not good policy is still a debatable question, and one could have wished for a more careful argument in support of the apparent contention that in this case protection was the course of wisdom.

Mr Coleman deals with easy competence with varying economic problems over a very considerable span of time. He is widely knowledgeable; and it is agreeable to be able to add that his book is pleasantly written and easy to read.

A. J. YOUNGSON.

THE JACOBITE GENERAL. By Katherine Tomasson. Pp. xii, 276. Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1958. 25s.

The last book devoted solely to the life of Lord George Murray was Winifred Duke's *Lord George Murray & the Forty-Five*, published in 1927. Since that date much new material has been discovered and printed, not only relating to Lord George but to the Rising itself, and to other participants in it. Some of the earlier narratives of the period have been discounted as being too biased one way or the other to present a true picture. Miss Tomasson has had the run of the Charter Room at Blair, and has found there, as well as nearly 1,000 letters of Lord George, mostly to his wife, which have never been printed, seventy-nine pages of his notes on the campaign, written in the third person shortly after Culloden. These notes are, of course, of the first importance, and with this new material Miss Tomasson has built up a new biography of Lord George which is incomplete only because she has not given us enough of his early life. This was presumably because she thought that, because of his notes on the campaign, she should concentrate on the Rising itself. Perhaps she should have edited the notes and then produced a more balanced biography. Nevertheless, this work, written in a fine racy style, will long remain the authoritative life.

That Lord George was a difficult man cannot be denied. Bishop Forbes was of the opinion that the 'disputes and canglings . . . were owing to the haughty, restless, unaccountable temper of Lord George, some of whose blood relations fail not to lay the blame upon him. Witness likewise the contest betwixt Keppoch and Lochiel about the right hand before they went out to fight Cope, a particular account of which dispute I had from Major Macdonald in the Castle of Edinburgh.' His attitude towards his men, too, smacks of intolerance: 'It was told me that all Highlanders were gentlemen, and never to beat them. But I was well acquainted with their tempers.

Fear was as necessary as love to restrain the bad and keep them in order.'

Although Lord George had to cope with a great deal of inefficiency and Irish blathers from his fellow officers he himself was hardly tactful. His conduct in ousting Perth after the fall of Carlisle is fairly typical, and his letter to the Prince after Culloden shows what he could be like when he really let himself go. Miss Tomasson is rather too prone to quote Elcho to illustrate how very unpleasant were all Lord George's companions, from the Prince downwards. It must be remembered that Elcho was a soured and embittered man when he committed his reminiscences to paper. After flirting with the Jacobites—Broughton wrote to Edgar in 1743 of Elcho's 'endearing behaviour . . . to all the King's friends'—Elcho did not join the Prince until he was quite certain in his own mind that he was joining the winning side. When he discovered that he was wrong, he blames everyone except himself for his mistake. Maxwell of Kirkconnel, whom Miss Tomasson quotes in support of Elcho, was the latter's friend who was also his senior officer. Sir Walter Scott warned that Maxwell should be taken with a grain of salt.

Admittedly Lord George in the words of Chambers 'possessed considerable military experience', but that was all. He was certainly no military genius, and his success in bringing the Highland army back from Derby was in some part due to the stupidity of the Government commanders. Miss Tomasson quotes Broughton's saying that Lord George had disposed his forces so well before Carlisle 'with so much judgement that the few French officers then in the army allowed they had never seen anything of the kind better executed'. Actually if this passage is read carefully it will be seen that Broughton was referring not to Lord George, but to the Prince. Miss Tomasson makes the same sort of mistake again when she misreads John Campbell's diary by saying that Murray of Broughton dined with the Earl of Breadalbane on 3 November 1745, when it is plainly stated in the entry for 1 November that Broughton left Edinburgh on that day.

Although we can sympathise with an author who writes to show her subject in the very best light, and having no illusions about the Prince's character a reader can forgive a statement, admittedly from Elcho, that 'he was very badly educated; he knew nothing of geography or of history, and he believed that the whole country was his property and that the word subject meant slave', yet there are certain views which cannot be stomachied. Miss Tomasson writes that 'the Highland army was sacrificed at Culloden in a bid to save his [the Prince's] self-esteem'. This is surely monstrous: Charles can be called many things, but not inhuman. If there had ever been the slightest suggestion that the Prince had harboured these revolting thoughts, *he* would have been known to history as 'the Butcher' and

not his extremely unpleasant young German antagonist, Cumberland. Oddly enough Maxwell of Kirkconnel, whom Miss Tomasson brings in to confirm her unfair suggestion, supports the normal view when he writes of the Prince: 'He had too high an opinion of the bravery of his men; he thought all irresistible.' That was why he insisted on fighting, and that is why, over the years, the Highlanders have always held the name of Prince Charles in affection, because he believed in them.

Miss Tomasson's book, however, is a good one which gives an extraordinarily vivid picture of Lord George. Her very writing of the man brings him into focus, and her occasionally outrageous statements are the very things which show that she has got under the skin of her subject. Lord George changed sides and eventually chose the losing one, but he was faithful to his side, unlike Elcho. He disagreed, at times very strongly, with the means, but he was, until his death, wholeheartedly for the end.

Miss Tomasson's references and bibliography are bad, the bibliography is not even in alphabetical order, nor are the dates of the various books given, but her biography of Lord George Murray deserves to be read by all who have an interest in the strivings of the Jacobites to attain something infinitely precious which was lost on a bleak April day just over two hundred years ago at Culloden.

DONALD NICHOLAS.

ADAM OF DRYBURGH. By James Bulloch. Pp. vi, 186. London: S.P.C.K. 1958. 30s.

A White Canon of Dryburgh and later a Carthusian at Witham, Adam was neither original nor influential in his thought. He made no significant contribution to the development of religious life. His writings contain scarcely a sentiment which had not been repeated *ad nauseam* by previous authorities from John Cassian onwards. The chief event of a secluded life was his change of profession, not uncommon amongst the inmates of medieval cloisters, from a laxer to a more strict Order. Out of such unpromising materials, Dr Bulloch has constructed a fascinating picture of religious life in twelfth-century Britain, all the more valuable for the paucity of its surviving literary remains.

After introductory chapters on the Canonical Tradition and the history of the British White Canons, the author describes his hero's life in two very different surroundings, first at the lovely Premonstratensian house beside the Tweed, with its comparatively affluent and active corporate existence, and secondly at the much poorer colony of contemplative hermits, founded by Henry II as part of his penance for Becket's murder, deep in Selwood forest about fifteen

miles east of Wells. Six chapters are then devoted to the ideals and customary disciplines of Prémontré and Chartreuse, as illustrated in Adam's writings, and a concluding chapter discusses his literary gifts. This style of treatment necessitates a certain amount of repetition, but the result is remarkably well-balanced, and amply documented from contemporary sources.

Adam was born in Berwickshire about 1140. He entered Dryburgh at a time when the reforms of Queen Margaret and her sons were introducing stricter discipline amongst the Scottish clergy, and when there was a determined effort throughout the Latin Church to bring every priest under obedience to canonical rule. He died in 1212, when the mendicant friars were just beginning to mobilise themselves for parochial evangelism. But in these large changes he took little interest, withdrawing more and more into the secluded life of contemplation—'claustrales debere super omnia quietem affectare', as he says in his eighteenth Sermon. From 1184 to 1188 he acted as Abbot of Dryburgh, but in the latter year, with the support of St. Hugh of Lincoln, he transferred his allegiance to the Carthusian Order, thus following the example of Dryburgh's first Abbot, Roger, whom he met in the Charterhouse at Val St. Pierre. The White Canons had always suffered from a certain tension between the demands of a worshipping community and the distractions of parochial responsibilities; in the very year when Adam left Dryburgh, Clement III had allowed them to undertake the cure of souls; and this development, of which he disapproved, must have been the primary cause of his departure. Behind it perhaps lay the wider movement of resurgent nationalism in the Scottish Church; his personal sympathies were markedly English in tone, and it may be that Adam found it difficult to continue as head of an important religious house in Scotland, at a time when the papacy was preparing to take that country under its own immediate jurisdiction. Significantly, it was to an English bishop that Adam at once applied as his protector.

His extant and published writings comprise eighty-three Sermons, out of a total of one hundred, the most interesting of which was preached to a congregation of boys on the feast of St. Nicholas; the *Liber de ordine, habitu et professione canonicorum*, which forms an important source for the life of Scottish Premonstratensians; a somewhat pedestrian biblical study entitled *De tripartito tabernaculo*; a devotional work, *De triplici genere contemplationis*, much influenced by Augustine; the *Soliloquium de instructione animae*, giving practical advice to young canons; and the sole survival of his years at Witham, *De quadripartito exercitio cellae*, which describes the four exercises of biblical study, meditation, prayer and manual labour, drawing material for the second of these topics from the *Scala Paradisi* of St. John Climacus. Dr Bulloch has much of interest to say about Adam's

attitude to Hell-fire preaching, his indebtedness to Victorine exegesis, the social implications of community life, and the evangelical character of medieval monastic profession. But one is a little surprised when Dr Bulloch attributes the *Dies irae* without question to Thomas of Celano, and still more so when he states that a version of the Austin Rule was composed by the Bishop of Hippo about 423; this is certainly more than the evidence warrants, and the Rule was most probably written by a later disciple on the basis of Augustine's epistle to some nuns. The legend current amongst the White Canons was that St. Norbert had received it direct from the hand of the African Saint, which is a medieval way of saying that, though inspired by Augustine, its actual formulation belonged to a later date.

The book is attractively produced; but at the price one might have expected illustrations, or at least a plan of Dryburgh to accompany the description of its buildings in Chapter V. Dr Bulloch supplies a full bibliography, covering six pages, to which should be added Dr D. E. Easson's recent study of Scottish Religious Houses. I have noted misprints on pp. 134, 160 and 172.

G. S. M. WALKER.

THE JAMES CARMICHAELL COLLECTION OF PROVERBS IN SCOTS: FROM the original MS. in the Edinburgh University Library. Edited by M. L. Anderson. Pp. viii, 149. Edinburgh: The University Press. 1957. 20s.

The Professor of Forestry in the University of Edinburgh is to be congratulated not only on his versatility as a palaeographer but also on the success of his scientific approach to the authorship problem of this collection of proverbs.

The manuscript, gifted to the University in 1700, had lain unnoticed till 1924 when it was cursorily examined in connection with the Scottish Text Society's edition of Fergusson's *Proverbs*. Professor Anderson, out of a most commendable enthusiasm to help the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, and undaunted by the cramped hand-writing, has deciphered a clear text and, by a meticulous comparison of the script with jottings from other books in the same bequest, illustrated in the edition by photographs, and by skilfully following up other clues, has established that the collection was made by James Carmichaell, a graduate of St. Andrews, minister of Haddington from 1570 till his death in 1628, and a prominent member of the Presbyterian party who shared exile in London with the Melvilles after the Gowrie Conspiracy and later was appointed to enquire officially into the famous Bothwell witch-case in North Berwick. One might add another, almost conclusive, piece of verification, viz. that the couplet 'Commer ga ye before, etc.' (429) occurs

in the account of the trial in *Newes from Scotland*, the rare pamphlet reprinted by Pitcairn and already ascribed by some to Carmichael. Professor Anderson has also unearthed more interesting facts about Carmichael from unpublished Wodrow material and other sources which give a pleasing picture of a mild diplomatic scholarly cleric of many parts.

Among his surviving writings are the Proverbs, which the editor shows by detailed comparison with the Fergusson collection to have descended from a common original, conjecturally a collection, now lost, of Archbishop James Beaton who fled from Scotland in 1560—though the authority for its existence is the very dubious one of Dempster and is *prima facie* contradictory as regards dates.

After a wealth of complicated collation and arithmetic, Professor Anderson has brought out of a total of 1,868 proverbs in the manuscript 591, or about thirty per cent, which are quite new.

Carmichael's Collection is thus important in the proverb-making, proverb-hunting age of Fergusson, Montgomerie and others in having so many proverbs unrecorded elsewhere and notable for their pithy idiom, or for the slanting light they cast on the social and political history of the time. The King himself would have good reason to remember the Ruthven Raid from 'Better bairnes greit, nor bearded men', and Bothwell the saying 'Hume and Hebron hald yow togidder, and ye dissever ye will rew it for ever.' The well-known 'Schaw me the man and I sall schaw you the law' was apparently made by a Lord of Session in Carmichael's own lifetime. 'Anes wod and aye the war' was a favourite saying of the Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth at the end of the century. Contemporary social habits and aspirations are glimpsed in 'God mak us all alike, as Jhon Blair said to my lord', 'It is a takin of na gud cheir quhen the cheiss comes first to the buird', 'It that will not be horse corne wilbe hynds bollis' with a corollary, 'Keip yow weil fra the devill and the lairds bairnes'; and where could one get a shrewder comment on one of our national failings than 'God help them hes a falt, they are oft tauld of it'? Good too with their mixture of common sense and cynicism are 'Davie deime warlie, leist your awin dome to your dur come', 'He loves me for little that haits me for nocht', 'It is gude to be rich, ye may be pore quhen ye will'; on the inexhaustible theme of women, 'Glassis and lassis are brukill wairs', 'Fil' the pynt and let the pettie cote ly; the claith wilbe better cheip after nune'; and a perfect saying for the unquenchable spark, 'The drokinner the dryer'; one could think of apt modern applications for 'Better it is to save, then to suffer quhen all is spent', 'Give a bairne quhen it wad, and a quhelp quhill his taill wag, there will never come gud of them baith'; and it would be worth knowing the story behind 'Sa faine as Makein wald be sclanderit, sa like the laird the ladie was', and the reason for the error in ascription in 'Ye are lyke Chaucers cuke, ye seime busier

nor ye are', which occurs also in Montgomerie and Calderwood.

It cannot have been easy to make out the writing and some readings remain uncertain, as 'A bus be set scheif hes na bleiding' (34), 'Better a March nob nor a Maii lob' (380); 'It is eith to keip heildoun fra the hennis' (966), 'With a lik and a thing as Malie brunt hir toung' (1856), in none of which the editor's explanations are convincing. In 1865, 'len' appears to be the manuscript reading and in the sense of 'loan' gives a possible meaning; in 489, 'Everie day alike proud on the Sunday lyk a jorg', the comparison with East Anglian *gorger* (Gipsy *gorgio*), a gentleman, a swell, is impossible and refuted by the version of Henderson 'Alike ilka day maks a clout on Sunday', adduced as a parallel.

Other readings appear to be definitely erroneous; e.g. 101, 'A fair wed (*l. weid*) schamed never the maister'; 978, 'I wad your wald were a yade, and your neiss (*l. wiss*) ye wat quha had fast hed'; 1166, 'Manie foule fillock hes oxen and ky, and manie gud mannis bairne few wun wirdie (*l. gud madins bairns sall win nowder*)'; 1765, 'Ye are larked and toyed (*l. teyed, i.e. tied*) like Sandie balop'; 1838, 'Ye play Jack never (*l. nedle*) Jack prein', a proverb still in use in Aberdeenshire; 1866, 'Ye have ane il wult (*l. reult, i.e. ravelled*) hesp to red.' Other misreadings or misprints are: 58, hane oter (*ane uther*); 64, evil will [i] e; 646, raid (*gaid*); 956, raik (*reik*); 1089, came (*come*); 1108, they freinds (*their freinds*); 1360, maixt (*maister*); and in the Latin proverb 18, read surely *paterfamilias* not *pater* (!) *facit*. In 792, 'not' must be 'nocht', not a noun=need, as the editor offers as an alternative speculation. There are also unfortunately on pp. 27-28 several wrong references.

The long note on *Kinsch* (1577) needs to be drastically revised in the light of the entry in the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*. In the note to 359, the editor's name should read W. M. Mackenzie, and the Glossary is unsatisfactory under *cut*, *eased*, *larked*, *lipper*, *rash-ring*.

A feature of this edition is the annotation, far more ample than in any other collection of Scots proverbs, which yet reveals that there is still a wide field for research. Proverbs are the distilled wisdom of the experience of a people down the ages and those who would know more about the Scottish ethos will learn much from this book. Professor Anderson deserves their best thanks for an excellent piece of difficult pioneer work to which Edinburgh University Press has contributed a handsome format.

DAVID MURISON.

SELECTED HISTORICAL ESSAYS OF F. W. MAITLAND. Chosen and introduced by Helen M. Cam. Pp. xxix, 278. Cambridge: The University Press (published in association with the Selden Society). 1957. 27s. 6d.

This is the third collection of Maitland's essays to be published. The *Collected Papers* appeared in three volumes in 1911 and are now out of print, rare and very expensive. The *Selected Essays* appeared in 1936 and contain seven items of primarily legal interest. This new selection contains thirteen items, six from the first collection, one from the second, and six items which are in print, but have never before been published together.

This present selection is an introduction to the breadth of Maitland's historical scholarship and to a miscellany of historical problems. It is no criticism of it to say that it is an admirable volume to present to an 'up-and-coming' student. Maitland is always worth reading, both for what he says and for the clarity and enthusiasm with which he says it. Here is Maitland *talking* about a variety of subjects: his first Ford Lecture on *Township and Borough*; 'The History of a Cambridgeshire Manor'; the 'trail-blazing' introduction to the *Memoranda de Parlamento, 1305* in the Rolls Series; two general pieces on the history of English law; three Tudor studies, including a devastating attack on the unfortunate Canon MacColl who 'discovered' a non-existent Convocation; a review of Round's *Commune of London*, useful as an introduction to those violent paper battles which Round fought with Freeman and others; an appreciation of Stubbs, whom curiously Maitland had never met; and a few other items.

Most historians think of Maitland as a legal historian, and it is disappointing that the pieces on legal history in general are perhaps the least sparkling. The twenty-five pages on the 'History of English Law' from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and a short paper on 'English Law, 1307-1600', part of a larger article in another contributed volume, are full of wise remarks, but inevitably they are too much compressed to do him justice. The short article on 'Leet and Tourn' from the introduction to *Select Pleas in Manorial Courts* for the Selden Society is alone vintage Maitland.

Only one item in the collection has much to say about Scotland. This is the article on 'The Anglican Settlement and the Scottish Reformation' originally published in the first *Cambridge Modern History*. It is a narrative account of fifty-eight pages of the interconnected events on both sides of the Border centred on the period 1558-60. It is useful because of its international treatment of an international problem, but it is included here primarily perhaps for the insight it gives on Maitland himself. The English parts require considerable reconsideration in the light of Sir John Neale's work; the Scottish parts require less revision, but this is not of course a

history of the Scottish Reformation as such. Maitland rather 'looks over the Border' at Scotland, and his 'very Protestant agnostic' outlook is somewhat unsympathetic. But his remarks are certainly stimulating.

The essays are modestly edited and given some limited additional bibliographies; and they must be read along with Miss Cam's admirable twenty-page introduction which is a history and a review of Maitland's historical writing.

This is a pleasant volume, but it is perhaps not just a carping criticism when another collection on the same lines entitled *Maitland's Legal Historical Essays* is promised, to ask whether a reprint of the original *Collected Papers* would not be more valuable.

A. L. BROWN.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONIANS (SCOTTISH RIFLES). By S. H. F. Johnston, Vol. I. Pp. xvi, 308. Aldershot: Gale and Polden. 1957. 25s.

In a clear narrative, soundly based throughout on original sources, Major Johnston gives not only an account of the two regiments which were fused in 1881 and known thereafter as the *Cameronians* or *Scottish Rifles*, but also expert commentary on changing military problems from 1689 to 1910. The quality of the writing is good in a restrained way, whether he is dealing with the French war of William II and III, the War of the Spanish Succession, the American Revolutionary War, the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, or the 'little sporting wars' of the nineteenth century in India, China or South Africa. This competent work, whilst never losing sight of the history of the regiments, has something of value and interest to say on all these subjects. May we just mention two recent books that deserved to be cited? In the chapter dealing with North America it is odd to find no reference to Eric Robson's *American Revolution in its Political and Military Aspects*; and any enumeration of works on the First China, or Opium, War must now surely include Michael Greenberg's *British Trade and the Opening up of China*. The latter would suggest that the lucrative opium trade, in which Scots played a leading part, was not just the occasion of the war, as Major Johnston would have it, but one of its main causes.

Quite apart from the comprehensive scholarship of his work, Major Johnston is to be congratulated on its tone. He is not of those who will sacrifice a history for a *bon mot* or in deference to old loyalties. The work is critical and scholarly in every sense of these terms. He realises that, to some extent, the history of the Cameronians (and even of its parent regiments, the 26th and the 90th) is, like that of most British regiments, something of an artefact. An-

other matter critically but wisely dealt with is the contrary piety of the 26th in its early days, and, quite legitimately, Major Johnston brings out the humorous aspects of this awkward business. The regiment, however, was soon estranged from the United Societies, which had given it half-hearted support at best, and, in spite of the fiery zeal of its chaplains, the 'saints' rapidly became as other soldiers were, taking to cards, dice and all manner of infamy. One of the factors that led to these unhappy 'left-hand defections', as Patrick Walker would have said, was probably the glee with which other less godly regiments fastened upon their peculiarities. In the Netherlands in 1691, for example, the 26th was greeted by that 'malignant' crew, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, with mocking shouts of 'Presbytery', 'Solemn League and Covenant', and (most wounding of all) derisory groans at the failure of the Low Countries to provide hills whereon to pray and preach. Under these distressing circumstances, piety was soon on the wane, and in the War of the Spanish Succession the jeremiads of the devout Captain Blackader descended on his own regiment no less than on others in that wicked host that so travailed his soul.

Major Johnston is well aware of the perils involved in the 'Covenanting Background' and states his apprehensive belief that the religious history of seventeenth-century Scotland will prove to be strange and difficult ground for the regimental historian. He is right; but it is greatly to his credit that he returns from this dangerous reconnaissance almost, if not quite, unscathed. But the reference to 'the attempt of Charles I and Laud to impose an English service book on the Scottish Church' can hardly survive, in this form at least, Dr Gordon Donaldson's *Making of the Scottish Prayer Book*. Again, one might easily challenge the facile statement that the Restoration Church settlement was an attempt at a reasonable compromise, and that 'the Kirk was to remain Presbyterian under episcopal supervision'. This is a fashionable point of view, but it rests on no good grounds and will not stand up to close analysis. In brief, the Presbyteries were muzzled, the General Assembly did not meet, and the Bishops most certainly were not figureheads—facts that cannot be squared with any meaningful definition of the Presbyterian position. The mere retention of the word 'Presbytery', or even of an emasculated version of the institution, cannot of itself embrace the sum total of Presbyterianism.

Major Johnston shows that he is by no means unaware of all this, but perhaps to disarm criticism (hopeless endeavour in these matters!) he tries to deal gently with all points of view. It was, however, a rough-hewn period, and neither Presbyterian nor Episcopalian claims can be rendered faithfully in the, as we think, reasonable terms of the twentieth century. Major Johnston seems to have seen this, as when he writes that 'in large measure the struggle between the Covenanters

and their enemies was between diametrically opposed intolerances', and had he clung consistently to this judicious summing up he would have achieved a better over-all perspective.

Similar confusion arises over the Revolution of 1688. How can Major Johnston's statement that 'the return of the "indulged" ministers [in 1687] had made the Presbyterians the strongest party within the Kirk' be reconciled with the odd shifts to which this party was reduced in the years 1689-90? Then its great endeavour was to prevent the summons of a free General Assembly in which it ran grave risk of being outnumbered. The Episcopalians were very much stronger than Major Johnston would seem to allow, and certainly so if his phrase 'within the Kirk' be taken at its literal value.

One or two obvious slips of the pen have been noted. On p. 5, note 1, reference should be to G. D. Henderson's *Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland*, not *Eighteenth*; on p. 21, 'autumn of 1689' should read '1688'; on p. 42, reference to 'the Kirk of William III', ought to read 'William II', though the phrase is a deplorable one; on p. 53, there seems to be no warrant for describing Andrew Monro (better Munro), fourth son of Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, as a Perthshire man; on p. 162, 'Earl of Hopetown' should read 'Hoptoun', and similarly on p. 172; on p. 211 it is misleading to describe Sir Francis Burdett as 'the Whig leader'. On p. 128 the term 'centinels' is used with no indication that this is an obsolete word for 'private soldier' and not to be equated with the modern 'sentinels'.

All that these slight criticisms mean is that this is a good book, well above the average standard of regimental histories. It is one that deserves, and will repay, close study, which will not, we hope, be confined to present members and old comrades of the regiment.

W. FERGUSON.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF HISTORY. By John McIntyre. Pp. viii, 120. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1957. 12s. 6d.

Professor McIntyre won golden opinions for his earlier work, *St Anselm and His Critics*, published in 1954. It was a difficult book such as would make little appeal to the general reader, but it was one which definitely advanced the subject and must be seriously reckoned with in all future discussions of it. The same is true of the present more slender volume. It is a scholar's conversation with scholars, making no concessions to popularisation; but within its chosen limits it burrows most successfully and instructively into the nooks and crannies of its subject-matter, evading no difficulties and bringing to light a number of assumptions which previous writers have too tacitly made.

It is evident that the Christian faith commits the believer to a

certain understanding of history or doctrine concerning it, and Professor McIntyre's purpose is to offer such a succinct statement of this doctrine as will enable other theorists in the field to understand just what Christians believe, but will at the same time serve to clarify the minds of Christian believers themselves as to what is implied in the faith they profess. With this end in view he begins by defining history, not as all occurrence, but as meaningful occurrence, and then proceeds to define the Christian view of history in terms of five 'categories' by means of which this meaning is apprehended. Each of these categories concerns the mutual interrelations of facts in the created world, but it is insisted that the interrelations are not subjectively imposed upon the facts, but rather discovered in them. 'The conditions under which we apprehend reality are the conditions under which reality exists.'

The five categories in question are necessity, providence, incarnation, freedom and memory; and the Christian understanding of each is separately set forth in the five chapters which make up three-fourths of the book. Very full reference is made under each head to the views of other recent writers—to Bultmann, Toynbee, Butterfield, Niebuhr and many more—but Professor McIntyre uses these references to enable him to define more clearly his own frequently differing conclusions; and the latter are always worthy of our close attention.

'The philosopher of history', writes Professor McIntyre, 'looks for more comprehensive patterns than the practising historian thinks necessary for the understanding of what happens in history'; for the latter, 'like every other scientist, confines himself to secondary causes'. On the other hand the pattern which Christian faith discerns in history is of a less comprehensive kind than would properly be thought of as yielding a philosophy of history, being primarily only a pattern of the relation in which history stands to God. In his brief closing chapter Professor McIntyre is anxious to make the point that what the Christian theologian has to say about history leaves ample room for both the philosopher and the practising historian to make their own different contributions. Not all historians will be equally interested in this book, but they ought to be interested in it if they are also Christians; and they are likely to be interested if, besides being historians, they have also something of the philosophic mind.

It is a pity the appended index of names is so defective. It omits many of the most important names referred to in the text, such as Butterfield (who is constantly quoted), Bossuet, Bertholet, Geyl, Vaihinger etc; while others, whose names do appear in the index, are represented by only one page reference, where several should be given.

JOHN BAILLIE.

THE HISTORY OF TRINITY HOUSE OF LEITH. By John Mason. Glasgow: McKenzie, Vincent. 1957. Pp. x, 194. 10s. 6d.

There is good evidence that a fraternity of masters and mariners was a well-established institution at Leith in the late fifteenth century, and it is more than likely that it originated a good deal earlier. The right of the fraternity to collect 'prime gilt'—a levy on Scottish ships loading or unloading at Leith—and to expend it for charitable and pious purposes was upheld by the Court of Session in 1592 and confirmed by Queen Mary in 1566. The fraternity's own archives are extant for the past three centuries, and it is principally from an examination of them that Dr Mason has now compiled a most interesting history.

For two hundred years or so the story is one of the expansion of the activities of what had in its beginnings been little more than a charitable society (and which, Dr Mason hints, may owe its dignified style of 'Trinity House' merely to the corruption of 'Fraternity House'). The records of the receipts and disbursements of the incorporation in themselves illustrate many features in the commerce of Leith and social conditions among seafaring men and their dependents, while many of its papers touch on national affairs, such as the impact of the system of impressment for the royal navy in the late eighteenth century. The masters and mariners often took the lead in the varied affairs of the port, ranging from church and education to the provision of water supplies, and they not infrequently defended the interests of Leith against Edinburgh, for example when they protested in 1781 against the failure of the town council to repair the streets in the port. But an association including the shipmasters of a leading Scottish port, adjacent to the capital, represented an accumulation of nautical experience to which resort was frequently had in the days when governmental organs were few and their functions strictly limited. Thus the Trinity House of Leith co-operated energetically in discussions about the siting and design of lighthouses; it was sometimes concerned with harbour works—especially, of course, the docks at Leith; and it long had the right (confirmed by royal charter in 1797 and by act of Parliament in 1820) to license pilots for the entire coast of Britain from the mouth of the Thames round to the Isle of Man and also for the continental shores of the North Sea.

The recent history, by contrast, is the story of an equally marked contraction of the activities of the fraternity. Unlike Trinity House of London, it did not acquire responsibility for the maintenance of lighthouses, which went to the Northern Lights Commissioners; its powers to license pilots were gradually whittled down and it finally lost them altogether; it was deprived of its principal source of income, the prime gilt, then worth £2,000 a year, by act of Parliament in 1861; and its charitable functions became much less necessary than they had been. To some extent it is all a familiar story, this gradual

elimination of a voluntary society. But it is difficult to escape the conclusion that one element in the decline of Trinity House of Leith was the domination of London in British affairs: in the period when governmental activity was increasing and administrative devolution was still remote, Trinity House of London must have benefited from its proximity to the seat of government. Dr Mason gives several pertinent illustrations of these developments, but if his work has a fault it is that he has not raised his head often enough from his close study of the archives to reflect on the wider setting against which his story must be viewed.

The volume concludes with an interesting description of the present Trinity House and its treasures. The Incorporation is to be congratulated on securing financial support for this publication from many shipping, commercial and industrial undertakings, whose advertisements have made it possible for a volume with 200 pages and a dozen plates to be sold at half a guinea.

GORDON DONALDSON.

DUNSTAFFNAGE CASTLE AND THE STONE OF DESTINY. By W. Douglas Simpson. Pp. viii, 136; 16 plates. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1958. 18s.

It is with the greatest interest that one approaches Dr Simpson's long-awaited monograph on Dunstaffnage Castle. Nor is one disappointed in the absorbing story which has been unravelled by one of our greatest masters of archaeological research. The range and variety of the authorities and documents quoted attests not only the profundity of his scholarship, but the magnitude of the work involved in such studies.

The book is prefaced by a description of the geology of the neighbourhood and the vast cosmic forces that have operated to give the region its present physical shape. And this has the strange and, in a work of historical research, unexpected effect of making the seven hundred years old subject of the work appear as but a thing of yesterday.

Geology, however, soon recedes into, in the present case, its proper perspective as the chronicle unfolds from the dim legends of Dalriada and Pictland, through Hakon Hakonson, Boece, Barbour, Fordun and Wyntoun, the factual, but by no means prosaic, records of the Argyll Charter chest and the Privy Council Registers, to the Dunstaffnage Case of 1908—that seemingly useless litigation which nevertheless preserved the contents of documents destroyed in the disastrous fire of 1940.

The well-attested story is much fuller and more colourful than one perhaps at one time thought possible, or could hope for. To those who know the castle but whose knowledge of its history did not

extend much beyond its place in the Wars of Independence and its acquisition by Bruce, it now, as in a view seen suddenly in a stereoscope, springs to life not only with the grim tragedies of medieval—and later,—life and the alarms and excursions of war, but with the everyday details of the provisioning and the repairing of a building that was a laird's house as well as a fortress.

Of the greatest interest is Dr Simpson's attribution of the building, in 1263 or thereabouts, of Dunstaffnage to Ewen de Ergadia (on behalf of Alexander III in his scheme of defence against the Norwegians), presumably ensconced in his own neighbouring *dun* of Dunollie. In the elucidation of this point and of the relationship of the Chapel to the 'Old dun' and the existing fortress, Dr Simpson's arguments seem to fit in together like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle.

The customary record of medieval bloodshed attaches to Dunstaffnage as to other castles. To whatever extent parole was a part of the apparatus of feudal chivalry, betrayal and violent death were daily occurrences in Renaissance Europe. In Scotland's wars of the Covenant, with their constant refrain anent 'slaying the Amalekites', the observance of punctilio was scarcely to be expected. But the seizure of Old Coll Ciotach, a man of seventy-seven, in circumstances of brazen treachery, and his subsequent murder at Dunstaffnage strikes a peculiarly revolting note even for that age of savagery.

But there are touches of the humorous, if sometimes unconscious, and of the fantastic. 'Barrack damages' are not usually a subject for mirth. But there is a familiar ring to a contract entered into between the 9th Earl of Argyll and the then Captain of Dunstaffnage which raises a smile of recognition across the centuries. This lays down the repairs required at the Restoration when the Cromwellian troops evacuated the castle after an occupation of eight years. From the materials mentioned it would seem that something more like a rebuilding of the habitable portions of the Castle rather than mere repairs was involved. Armies in their habits are ever the same! As for fantasy, surely nothing could be more incredible than the incarceration of Flora MacDonald in August 1746. What a dangerous young woman the Government of George II must have considered her!

All the memories of the grim tragedies of medieval and later times, however, seemed to have been wiped out (or perhaps only put in the cupboard) by the time Smollet came to write his racy description of the easy, gusty, guzzling life of but twenty-five years after Charles Edward's fatal campaign. His pages depicted only the cheerful setting of the Age of Reason, still supported, wholeheartedly it would seem, by the clansmen, and with all the trappings of a dying tribalism in full operation.

In his technical description of the building, Dr Simpson very rightly makes the lucid and comprehensive essay of Drs MacGibbon

and Ross the foundation of his remarks. Their work was in general the first enquiry into Scottish architecture carried out on a scientific basis. In the vast field they covered—the number of journeys they must have made in those days of sketchy transport, carried out alongside the everyday rigours of architectural practice, is beyond belief—a slip here and there was only to be expected. These Dr Simpson has corrected and has further amplified the detailed description of the structure, all fortified by a depth of scholarship to which the older men did not aspire.

The description of the Chapel is particularly good and lucid, and fills in what McGibbon and Ross were unable to see for the inevitable nineteenth-century overgrowth of ivy. It is indeed good to know that it is now in the hands of the Ancient Monuments Board and that there will now be an end to any further disintegration of what must in its day have been one of the gems of Scottish architecture.

And so to the final chapter on the Stone of Destiny. Dr Simpson traces its history, both legendary before, and historical after, the thirteenth century, with a wealth of authorities quoted.

One unlooked-for omission is any reference to the theory that the Abbot of Scone hid the true stone, and palmed off a substitute on Edward Longshanks. Walter de Hemingburgh's description of 'a very large stone, hollowed out like a round chair' would seem to lend belief to such a theory. But in the first place, Walter's description, with all due respect to Dr Richardson's article in *The Scotsman* (17 February 1951), simply seems to indicate the stock type of early bishop's throne, such as the so-called 'Attila's Throne' at Torcello or the legendary St. Mark's Throne in the Mother Church at Venice. And secondly the continuity of Alexander III to John Balliol and Edward I himself, is too close to allow of any deception being practised on the last named astute master of his times. Unless, of course, John Balliol himself, never having seen the original stone, was the deceived. But this is scarcely conceivable and it is hard to think of even that ineffectual gentleman, especially in a world where the everyday lives of all were governed by superstition, lending himself to such a trick.

Dr Simpson's treatment of the build-up of the Beregonium legend is masterly. The merciless exposure of the love of the eighteenth century and later for the pseudo-antique is delightful. The portrayal of the mounting capacity for legend of Pococke, Pennant and the rest is a quite entertaining piece of historical gossip. Donald Campbell, 14th of Dunstaffnage, must have enjoyed exercising his imagination on his credulous visitors, when he had as subjects, not only the mythical Beregonium, but his own very real castle.

Or was it his imagination? Did he know of traditions that had long died elsewhere? For in a few deft last paragraphs, with an unexpected twist as exciting as any thriller, Dr Simpson brings us

back to Boece, and his unlikely statements. He quotes the Boethian Evonium and, in good scholarly Celtic company, boldly suggests a Gaelic original for that latinisation which would indeed make the *Sean Dun* of Dunstaffnage the Dalriadic capital of legend and tradition, and, as corollary, the *fons et origo* of the Stone of Destiny.

LESLIE GRAHAME MACDOUGALL.

WORKING PARTNERSHIP: Being the lives of John George 8th Duke of Atholl and of his wife Katharine Marjory Ramsay. By the Duchess of Atholl. Pp. 256. London: Arthur Barker. 1958. 21s.

The appearance of an autobiography by Scotland's first woman M.P.—and Britain's second woman Minister—is itself sufficient to merit the attention of the historian. But *Working Partnership* is more than that. 'Forty years ago', said the Duchess of Atholl in 1923, in a speech following her election (by a slender majority) as Member for Kinross and West Perthshire, 'the ideal wife was one who said "Amen" to her husband whenever he opened his mouth. To-day that idea has been abandoned, and we have instead an ideal of comradeship, of partnership in life's happiness and difficulties alike, which we recognise as much better.' This is the story of the successful forging of such a partnership, between two people, moreover, of pronounced individuality, both of them outstanding (and sometimes controversial) public figures—not the most likely combination to pull well in double harness.

The aspects of recent history touched upon in this book are almost as varied as the interests and activities of those whose joint lives it portrays: the Duke of Atholl, when he succeeded to the title in 1917 at the age of forty-six, had been Unionist M.P. for West Perthshire for seven years and had behind him a distinguished record of military service, from the Nile Expedition of 1898 to the Gallipoli campaign; in 1918-20 he was Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and in 1922 Lord Chamberlain. It was when her husband was standing as a Parliamentary candidate before the First World War that the Duchess served her apprenticeship as a public speaker, campaigning on his behalf. But she had little thought then of entering Parliament herself; no admirer of Mrs Pankhurst, she actually found herself speaking from an anti-suffragist platform in Glasgow alongside Lord Curzon in 1912, expressing her conviction that women should have more experience of participating in local government before seeking the parliamentary vote. Ironically enough, it was women's votes that she felt were mainly responsible for her own eventual downfall as an M.P. in 1938, when her anti-Fascist speeches and vigorous championing of Republican Spain enabled her opponents to dub her 'communist' and 'warmonger'.

A 'Red Duchess' was indeed a novel phenomenon, even on Clydeside, where one Glasgow woman laid the dire accusation against her of singing 'The Red Flag' at a public meeting!

In autobiographies such as this the social and political historian is occasionally rewarded with revealing sidelights on national issues and personalities. Here he will not be disappointed, provided he has the patience to separate the grain he seeks from the chaff of leisurely (but seldom tedious) reminiscence. At times, no doubt, he will wish for greater objectivity and frankness in the narrative, but a modicum of both prejudice and restraint is inevitable in any book dealing with events and public figures of the immediate past. The authoress is perhaps happiest when recollecting the more distant days of her own childhood and early married life, and she also gives us some pleasant vignettes of her husband's boyhood at Blair Castle in the 70's and 80's of last century. To the student of Scottish affairs there is much of value in the Duchess's account of her experiences as a member of various committees, such as those on the Highlands and Islands Medical and Nursing Services (1912-13), on Scottish Tinkers (1917-18), the Central Agricultural Wages Committee for Scotland (1918-20), and as a member of Perthshire Education Authority (1919-24). In 1924 she became Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education for England and Wales, only one woman Minister—Margaret Bondfield—having preceded her.

Both the Duke and the Duchess played a prominent part in the renovation of the furnishings of Holyrood House in the interwar years, and in securing the opening of the State Rooms and Mary Queen of Scots' apartments to the public. The prevention of the sale to America of Queen Mary's last letter, written on the eve of her execution, was another of the Duke's many services to Scottish antiquarianism. Of particular interest is the account given here of the controversy and difficulties that arose during the creation of the National War Memorial and Museum at Edinburgh Castle, a project with which the Duke was closely identified from its inception in 1917 until its completion—'in the face of coldness, discouragement and powerful opposition'—ten years later. He was an enthusiastic, if not always successful, pioneer of business ventures also. It is not generally known that Blair Castle was the scene of some early Scottish experiments in aviation: before the First World War secret trials were made in the hills there of an aeroplane designed by John Dunne (better known in later years for his *Experiment with Time*). A more successful venture than the Blair Atholl Aeroplane Syndicate was Atholl Steel Houses Ltd., an enterprise formed in co-operation with Lord Invernairn of Beardmore's during the post-war depression in the Scottish steel industry, and resuscitated after the Second World War by the Duchess herself and a former director, to help supply the demand for new housing. Meanwhile her husband's

death in 1941 had severed the remarkable partnership of which this book will form an enduring memorial.

JOHN B. S. GILFILLAN.

THE SCOTTISH TRADITION IN LITERATURE. By Kurt Wittig. Pp. viii, 352. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1958. 30s.

Dr Wittig describes his book as 'not so much a history of Scottish literature as a survey of it in which we have made it our governing aim to spotlight those characteristics which crop up so regularly in the works of some outstanding Scottish writers that they together make up a tradition'.

The survey he has produced is reasonable and readable, and a useful addition to the few general books on the subject. If certain doubts may arise in the reader's mind, these are perhaps inseparable from Dr Wittig's approach. The search for such intangibles as national literary characteristics is always very tempting, especially as regards a country that feels itself insecure or unfulfilled, but however carefully done it results in a slight measure of falsification, since some of the evidence is rejected, some of it is over-emphasised, and things tend to be looked at for the sake of some selected abstract qualities rather than in their own individuality. One would not quarrel with the Scottish qualities Dr Wittig finds—realism, understatement, concreteness, contrast and argument, extravaganzas and flyting, democratic independence—though it may be hard to see them adding up to anything except the escape-phrase of Caledonian antiszygy. The question is whether the picture would be altered if the whole evidence was more evenly presented. I think it would. Dr Wittig is out to do his best for Scottish literature, and for this reason he passes quickly over periods like the nineteenth century where he feels the literary quality is low; yet the phenomenon of 'kailyard', whether we like it or not, was and is of the greatest social importance. It is undoubtedly a part of the Scottish tradition, and it is perhaps the chief problem that the modern Scottish writer has had to contend with if he wants an audience—as the history of our drama shows only too clearly. Here, and in his treatment of the eighteenth century, Dr Wittig seems to be concentrating too much on literary qualities isolated from the socio-intellectual milieu. What he does stop to discuss, he discusses well; but he takes some alarming strides.

The two main threads of original emphasis in the book are interesting and suggestive. Dr Wittig traces in the earlier writers, particularly in John Barbour, a sort of proleptic Presbyterianism which is partly religious and partly political, based on an insistence on 'fredome' and 'richt'. His other suggestion is that parallels between Gaelic and Scots literature are so widespread as to imply a

real closeness of spirit between the two cultures, if not of actual contact and influence. Readers will probably find the first of these more convincing than the second. Although many Gaelic/Scots parallels—for example in nature-description, in verse-construction, in use of the grotesque, in fondness for flyting—are adduced, it might be thought that the *spirit* in most cases is very different. Celtic grotesque seems to me quite unlike Scots grotesque. There is a curious inhuman quality about Celtic literature and art which (though it may be found extremely attractive) is surely the natural opposite of the Scots tendency towards democratic couthiness and sentimentality. Obviously there is a great deal we'd still like to know about the contacts, at all periods, between Gaelic and Scots literature and speech. Dr Wittig's book may stimulate further enquiry into these matters. In the present study, the Gaelic theme is the nearest approach to a hobby-horse, and it leads to some odd judgments, as when Neil Gunn 'the Scot and Gael' (who receives six pages, to Sir Thomas Urquhart's six lines!) is exalted at the end as embodying 'more clearly even than C. M. Grieve . . . the aims of the Scottish Renaissance'. But an odd judgment or two does no harm, and detracts nothing from the general interest and importance of Dr Wittig's book, which takes Scottish literature seriously as a subject worth examination in its own right, and makes some illuminating comments on it.

There is a fair sprinkling of minor slips and misprints, among which the following may be noted: Eisenstein wrote *The Film Sense*, not *The Film Scene* (p. 148); Urquhart was born in 1611, not 1605 (p. 159); James Thomson's pseudonym was Bysshe Vanolis, not Bysche Vonalis (p. 244); *Voyage to Windward* is by J. C. Furnas, not Furmas (p. 257); W. S. Graham's *The Nighifishing* was published in 1955, not 1945, and his *Second Poems* (1945) is confused with *The White Threshold* (1949) (p. 310).

EDWIN MORGAN.

ARBELLA STUART, ROYAL LADY OF HARDWICK AND COUSIN TO KING JAMES. By P. M. Handover. Pp. 336. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1957. 30s.

It is possible to read the life of Arbella Stuart without becoming aware of the weakening of English kingship or of the advance made by Parliament in her lifetime. The Crown remained the great political reality, and royal blood, however diluted, gave a divine claim. Arbella, 'child of woe', was sacrificed to the idea of monarchy. Contemporaries could not help looking upon her as a competitor for the Crown. All factions, at home and abroad, gave her a place in their calculations. Her crowned relatives kept her in confinement of one sort or another for the greater part of her life. She herself could

not forget her descent: when, for all-too-brief periods, she was free from actual constraint upon her freedom of movement, her strong insistence on her rank showed that she could not become a private person in her own eyes.

There are obvious dangers in describing a life like this. First, a story of the heroine's tedious, confined existence will not easily be enlivened by a recital of the complicated but futile intrigues of others. For the most part, Miss Handover succeeds in making the story interesting—perhaps just succeeds, when describing the repetitive manoeuvres of the 1590's.

Secondly, there is the temptation to romanticise, to exaggerate the overall importance of the subject, to claim certainty where the information is scanty or conjectural. This tendency has been resisted. Miss Handover's approach is scholarly, her account of the general political situation is balanced and clear. She may be free with her conjectures here and there, but does not present them as facts. Only a few sins of omission or commission require comment. What were Henry Cavendish's plans likely to be when he tried to abduct Arbella from her grandmother's custody a fortnight before Elizabeth's death? We are told about Stapleton's intentions, but also that they did not very much matter since Cavendish was the real leader. On the other hand, the far-reaching religious designs and political calculations of the Countess of Shrewsbury in organising Arbella's nearly successful escape in 1611 are described rather more confidently than the references, mostly to hearsay evidence, would warrant. Again, the suggestion (p. 46) that Bess of Hardwick ever considered James VI a possible husband for her daughter (Arbella's mother) is far-fetched. It is incorrect to suggest (p. 261) that the title of Prince of Wales had been in abeyance under the Tudors.

The third danger was that of 'padding', or irrelevance and meaningless detail. Certainly, the narrative moves slowly, events which had the slightest connection with Arbella—like the Gunpowder Plot—are not only mentioned but described; the tapestry at Hardwick or the masques at James's Court re-embroidered and re-enacted. Happily, these descriptions are for the most part convincing and informative and therefore useful to the non-specialist reader. Bess of Hardwick dominates the first part of the book. Much interest is taken in all the other human actors. The approach remains individual, not through social categories. About Arbella's own inmost thoughts Miss Handover writes with restraint, refusing to go beyond the evidence and reasonable inference.

Attention is focused on claims to the English, not the Scottish throne. We are told what Mary Stuart thought about the place of Arbella's father in the line of succession, not what the Scots thought about Arbella herself.

Miss Handover makes competent use of printed sources. She has

not been able to find much MS. material in Britain unknown to previous biographers of Arbella, and she does not appear to have used Continental archives.

For some of the reference numbers in the text (pp. 146, 179, 258) no corresponding notes are found at the end of the book, while the numbers on pp. 150-3 are one ahead of the appropriate notes.

A. J. A. MALKIEWICZ.

EDINBURGH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS. Vol. III, Part IV (Sessions 1953-4, 1954-5). Edinburgh. Printed for the Society. 1957.

There are here two articles of some interest to historians: 'The text criticism of Robert Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth*', by Mario M. Rossi, translated by M. I. Johnston; and 'An unpublished commentary by George Buchanan on Virgil', by C. P. Finlayson.

An editorial note to the former explains that it is 'the bibliographical appendix with modifications of Dr Rossi's unpublished book "Il cappellano delle fate" a full historical philosophical evaluation of Kirk and his work'. The author himself states that 'the information given here is a summary of the results of the strictly textual and biographical research' but that 'no particularised documentation is possible here'. The reviewer is therefore somewhat handicapped.

The biographical matter is mainly an enquiry into Kirk's date of birth. *The Dictionary of National Biography* and the first and revised editions of Scott's *Fasti* both give his dates as 1641?-1692. Dr Rossi by simply examining Kirk's tombstone in Aberfoyle cemetery finds there the record 'Obiit, 14 May 1692 aetat. 48'. Donald Maclean, writing in 1922,¹ had already given the age and date of death as recorded on the tombstone; and it seems strange that, in an endeavour to fix the birth date more closely, Dr Rossi should make the statement (omitting the documentary evidence) that Kirk was 'born in 1644 (probably on 6 August)'. This would make his age at death 47. Internal evidence from Kirk's notebooks is contradictory—which suggests that Kirk himself was uncertain of his exact birth date. Until firm record evidence comes to light it is safer to say that Kirk was born in 1643 or 1644.

In examining the textual evidence Dr Rossi has at first an easy demolition task. *The Secret Commonwealth* has hitherto attracted the attention of imaginative writers rather than exact scholars. Sir Walter Scott sponsored its first publication in 1815. Andrew Lang wrote a fascinating introduction in comparative mythology to the edition of 1893, and R. B. Cunningham-Grahame introduced the 1933 edition with some lively explorations into Highland folk lore.

¹ *Trans. Gael. Soc. Inverness*, xxxi, 74.

None of these was strictly an editor, or at least did not fulfil the elementary duty of an editor to present a careful text. The 1815 edition, based on a transcript of an imperfect manuscript copy (now lost) in the Advocates' Library, abounds with absurd misreadings. The later editions for the most part repeat these and sometimes introduce new errors. No search seems to have been made for other manuscripts although a complete manuscript had been, since 1823, in the possession of the most learned antiquary in Scotland, David Laing, who bequeathed it to Edinburgh University in 1878.¹

Dr Rossi's much more arduous task is to study the relations between the available texts in an endeavour to work back to the archetype. He carefully collates the two title-pages of the 1815 edition, the Laing manuscript² and the National Library Manuscript 5022, which was acquired as recently as 1949, and compares various readings from the body of the work. The Laing manuscript is a contemporary MS. written by Robert Campbell (probably Kirk's brother-in-law) in the very house from which Kirk himself had written letters in 1691. Dr Rossi considers whether it was a copy of a manuscript or was dictated to Campbell by Kirk from a sickbed, and inclines to favour the second alternative. But a close examination of the manuscript makes it clear, from the many omissions that had to be made good in the margins and from several instances of visual anticipation of words lower down the page, that it was a copy, although the two titles, which show variant readings, may have been revised by Kirk himself.

MS. 5022 has *The Secret Commonwealth* complete, and the short treatise on charms, and, as compared with the Laing MS., lacks only the 'Exposition of the difficult words'. From the title page of this manuscript Dr Rossi has established for the first time that a copy of *The Secret Commonwealth* was made for and sent to 'the right Reverend . . . Dr. Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, his Lady' probably as the result of a promise made during Kirk's visit to the Stillingfleets in London in 1689 when the Second Sight was the chief topic of discussion. This manuscript, indeed, appears to be a fair copy of the Stillingfleet manuscript written in a clerkly hand, and very much anglicised. From the writing and the watermarks it is early eighteenth century in date.

Both manuscripts give good texts each with its own occasional errors of transcription. Dr Rossi's examination of the texts is made with care and acumen and the conclusions he arrives at are as accurate

¹ Lang later knew of this manuscript for he mentions it in his article on 'Fairies' contributed to the 11th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

² It should be noted that on l. 12 of the second title in this manuscript after 'collected and compared' there is a heavy scoring out not indicated in Dr Rossi's transliteration. Under a fresh examination by Mr C. P. Finlayson this has now been deciphered as 'by M.R.K.'. This may link it with the manuscript owned by Lord Reay in 1699 which had a similar reading.

as could be given on the evidence. He has shown beyond a doubt the need for a new edition and his own qualifications for the task. The imperfect garbled editions at present available to students are a reproach to Scottish scholarship. But Kirk's importance is not confined to this work that has caught the attention of the public, or to his pioneering efforts to introduce a Gaelic version of the Catechism, the Psalms, and the Bible to the Highlands. Kirk was an assiduous note taker and diarist and many of the eight notebooks listed by Dr Rossi, and in particular the London diary of 1689-90, are deserving of attention.

Mr Finlayson's article revives interest in an unpublished and long-forgotten commentary on Virgil by George Buchanan, which he may have given to students at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, during his period of office as Principal of the College from 1566 to 1570. The commentary is not a contemporary manuscript but a copy made in 1597 by M. A. Heyne. It is bound up with other notes of lectures, one of which consists of annotations on the *Posterior Analytics* by J. Echlin, a regent at St. Leonard's c. 1600.

The attribution is well authenticated. The scribe gives it as Buchanan's in the title; Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun presented it to Edinburgh University as Buchanan's; the University accepts it as such and has it catalogued and bound as Buchanan's. Sibbald, writing in 1702, also accepts it without question. Ruddiman, however, although recording it, gives but a slighting and half-doubting reference, and in this he is echoed by David Irving. The rest is silence. It is not mentioned in the Glasgow or St. Andrews Quatercentenary volumes on Buchanan, nor in Hume Brown's biography.

Mr Finlayson brings internal evidence to support the attribution. A feature of the manuscript is that there are numerous renderings of Latin text into Braid Scots and it is noted that in the *Opinion anent the Reformation of the Universitie of St. Andros*, which is accepted as Buchanan's by most scholars, the master was advised 'to geif the interpretation in Scottis correspondant to the Latin'. Mr Finlayson, who has an eye for such matters, also detects unmistakable flashes of the authentic Buchanan humour in some of the comments both in Latin and in the vernacular.

The article gives a complete list of the vernacular renderings with some parallel readings from the translation of the Aeneid into Scots by that other famous alumnus of St. Andrews—Gavin Douglas. This is of particular interest to students of Scots literature and language.

A sceptic might question whether it was part of the duty of the Principal of St. Leonard's College to give lectures on Virgil. One of his prescribed duties was to give two lectures weekly on Divinity but, although these were no doubt given, no trace of them remains. James Melville said of Buchanan that he was 'of gud religion for a poet'. There seems no reason why the leading poet and Latinist of

his age should not have been invited or have chosen himself to expound Virgil to the higher classes. It may be recalled that in the first of his *'Elegiae'*, writing on his experiences as Regent at the College of St. Barbe in Paris, Buchanan describes the appearance of the 'Master in all the majesty of cap and gown, the terror of his charges, in his right hand the scourge, in his left perchance the works of the great Virgil'. Although written at a much earlier date this poem was first published by the author, in Paris, in 1567. Is it fanciful to imagine that Buchanan may for a time have taken up again his switch and his Virgil at St. Leonard's, where he was then Principal?

L. W. SHARP.¹

THE KENNEDYS. By Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, Baronet.

THE GRAHAMS. By John Stewart of Ardvorlich.

Pp. 32 each. Edinburgh: W. and A. K. Johnston. 1958.
5s. each.

These two pocket-sized volumes are welcome additions to the series. As before, each includes a bibliography, coloured plates of heraldry and tartan, and a map.

The KENNEDY map serves to remind us that there were Celtic clans with almost autonomous territories in the lowlands as well as in the highlands. Scions of the ancient local royalty of their district, the Kennedy chiefs were nicknamed 'the Kings of Carrick', and their sway extended 'twixt Wigton and the town of Ayr, Portpatrick and the Cruives of Cree'. They had sprung from the ancient Princes of Galloway through the medieval Earls of Carrick—of whom Neil, the second Earl (1250-6), having an only daughter who carried the earldom to the Bruces, granted to his nephew and nearest heir male Roland of Carrick the office of chief of the clan ('kenkynol' or *ceann-cineal*) and the right of leading the men of Carrick in battle. The grant was to Roland's heirs, and by 1372 these rights had descended to John Kennedy of Dunure, whose arms displayed the old Carrick chevron. Whether they came to him through the male or female line depends on the identification of the eponymous Cinneidigh, since there were certainly individual mac Kennedys in Carrick at intervals from the twelfth century onwards. Local dynasties perhaps thrive best when refreshed from the fountain of honour, and Dunure's grandson married King Robert III's daughter: by whom he fathered the first Kennedy peer and the famous Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, founder of St. Salvator's College. Sir James describes vividly the bitter feud that divided sixteenth-century Carrick

¹ We record with regret the death of Dr L. W. Sharp, Librarian of the University Library, Edinburgh, which occurred shortly after he had written this review.

between the two great branches of Dunure's descendants, the Earls of Cassillis and the Kennedys of Bargany, 'each backed by a force of nearly a thousand armed men', that was the theme of Crockett's 'The Grey Man'. He also gives an interesting description of daily life in Maybole and throughout Carrick at the height of Kennedy rule. In 1632 the Lord Lyon could still write that 'the greatest clan of this shire are the Kennedys', but their star declined as that of the Dalrymples rose, and today only the Kennedy chief himself (the Marquis of Ailsa) holds any of their old lands. Kilkerran can always be relied on to combine zealous affection with his innate scholarship when writing of his native Carrick.

The GRAHAM map is especially useful, as the Graham territories formed several scattered groups: round Dundaff and Mugdock between Stirling and Glasgow, in Angus around Montrose and Dundee, in Strathearn, the Lennox and throughout Menteith. Although (like the Kennedys) they were organised by feu-charter and tenant-contract rather than by *sluaged* and *calp*, Ardvorlich points out that they had the same sense of family solidarity as the aristocratic Celtic clans: and his book shows how these lands were settled by the many Graham 'lairds, great or small, and their kith and kin, legitimate or otherwise', all spreading out from a common source—the ancestor represented by their 'loving chieff' Montrose. Many Norman families took their names from conquered English manors. Gray tells us in his *Scalacronica* that the ancestor of 'lez Grames' was invited into Scotland with other younger sons of lords from England, where we know from Domesday Book that there was a manor of *Graeg-ham* or 'Grey home'. This ancestor was William de Graham, who received the lands of Abercorn and Dalkeith from King David I, having arrived at the Scottish Court by 1127. His descendants were 'exceedingly capable men . . . loyal and true to the causes they espoused', marked by a flair for gallantry, from Wallace's companion-in-arms through the victors of Inverlochy and Killiecrankie and Barossa, down to the present-day Victoria Cross won by Sir Reginald Graham of the Tamrawer branch. Ardvorlich, himself a royal Stewart, is perhaps a little unfair to Sir Robert Graham, who renounced his allegiance and slew James I only after fair warning when that king had broken his feudal contract with a Graham child for whom Sir Robert was responsible. The wildest Grahams were those of Eskdale, which came to the Grahams of Dalkeith with an heiress in the thirteenth century, and where a branch headed by the Grahams of Netherby later settled in the Debatable Land and across the English Border. But the bulk of the Graham lands lay in the braes on the fringes of the highland line and, although the raids of caterans made them inveterate enemies of the desperate broken men who to many (including the late 'Don Roberto') epitomise the Highlander, the most celebrated of the Grahams, Claverhouse and

the Great Marquis, rank with Lord George Murray as the three finest leaders of highland guerrillas. The present Graham chief (the seventh Duke of Montrose) is himself a Gaelic speaker and Mod prize winner. Ardvorlich includes a useful tabular pedigree, shewing where the branches join the chief's tree, and gives us a bird's-eye view of the sound reasons for the proverbial 'pride of the Grahams'.

IAIN MONCREIFFE OF MONCREIFFE.

PERIODICAL NOTES

In an important article, 'Les Pictes apostats dans l'épître de S. Patrice' (*Analecta Bollandiana*, Tom. LXXXVI, fasc. iii-iv, 1958), Dom Paul Grosjean analyses both the evidence relating to St. Ninian and the meaning of 'apostate' as applied to the Picts in St. Patrick's letter. A careful and scholarly survey is followed by the tentative conclusion that in referring to the Picts, the *milites* of Coroticus, as apostate, St. Patrick was not necessarily meaning that they had renounced the Christian faith and returned to paganism; he may have meant only that their evil deeds had warranted that designation.

In the course of the article, there are also the interesting observations:

- (i) that the name Ninian (a Breton name—Nynnyaw) and the stress upon a church of stone and its dedication to St. Martin suggest direct influence from Gaul;
- (ii) that dedications in honour of St. Martin begin to multiply on the Continent in the sixth century;
- (iii) that it is extremely doubtful that Ninian was the first missionary to the 'Southern Picts'¹;
- (iv) that the story of Ninian's consecration at Rome and his dedication of *Candida Casa* in honour of St. Martin at the end of the fourth century are almost certainly later inventions;
- (v) that the date of Ninian's work is lost 'dans la nuit des temps'; and, finally,
- (vi) that Ninian may have been adopted as a patron saint for the Anglican bishopric of Whithorn in the early years of the eighth century, and as a counter to Columba. The Pictish king Nechtan had accepted Roman usages and may have wished to be able to refer to an earlier traditional connection with Rome. So we have Bede's use of the word *regulariter* in his very cautious report.

¹ Cf. *ante*, xxxvii, 17-22.

In *Archives* for 1958 Mr J. Imrie and Mr G. G. Simpson have published a fairly full and very careful description of 'the local and private archives of Scotland'. Perhaps the most valuable parts are the account of the process by which local records were brought under state control. This control, in the plan of Thomas Thomson, involved the setting up of county record offices; none of these have been founded and an official Committee in 1925 recommended the centralisation of local records in Edinburgh. The effects of that recommendation may not turn out to be altogether beneficial, and the authors in their last section reconsider it critically but constructively. The first part of the article surveys sheriff court, burgh, and county records, the second lay and ecclesiastical private archives. Some of the survey will be familiar to Scottish readers, but not all, and there can be few who will not profit from reading this stimulating paper.

A.A.M.D.

In *Scottish Studies* (vol. 3, pt. 1, 1959) Mr F. V. Emery shows that the parish descriptions contained in the first volume of Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), and dated mainly between 1721 and 1724, were the answers made in response to a special enquiry set on foot by the Church of Scotland and antedating both Webster and Sinclair. Other descriptions in the same volume of 'Macfarlane', dated mainly between 1742 and 1744, were, however, answers to a questionnaire distributed by William Maitland in an endeavour to obtain material for his projected 'History of Scotland'. Mr Emery has a high opinion of the descriptions, and he compares and contrasts the methods and aims of 'the Church plan of 1720-21' with those of Sinclair's later *Statistical Account*. This is a paper of interest to both historians and geographers. The same number also contains a rich collection of more than 600 proverbs and proverbial sayings currently used in the parishes of Auchterless and Turriff and noted by Mr Alexander Fenton of the *Scottish National Dictionary*. Dr Nicolaisen also continues his scholarly notes on Scottish place-names.

Notes and Comments

ACCESSIONS TO THE REGISTER HOUSE, 1958

*Collections marked * have been calendared*

PUBLIC RECORDS

Among the extraordinary transmissions of public records, under section 5 of the Public Records (Scotland) Act, 1937, the largest was the pre-1860 records remaining in the custody of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, some of which date from the 16th century. In addition, 34 miscellaneous Exchequer documents, 1526-1819,* were presented by Lady Stirling of Fairburn.

Ayr County Council agreed to the transmission of the minutes of the Commissioners of Supply for Ayrshire, 1713-1845 (9 vols), and the Road Trustees, 1767-1883 (7 vols.), which had come to light in a solicitor's office. This is the finest transmission of the kind to be received. Other local authority transmissions were the town council records of Inverurie, 17th-19th centuries; the three oldest charters of Falkland, 1458-1595; Forfar register of deeds, protests, and decrees, 1768-1930; Selkirk burgh court book, 1557-1574; and Dumfries sheriff court book, 1577-1583. Two heritors' minute books were received, which should have been lodged under the Church of Scotland Act, 1925—Corstorphine, 1812-1859, and Ayr, 1827-1856.

PRIVATE MUNIMENTS

These were comparatively few and small. Several were minor additions to collections previously deposited outright or on loan: S.S.P.C.K. papers, 1709-1723*; Kennedy of Dalquharran, 19th century; Hamilton of Pinmore, 16th-19th centuries; Mackintosh of Mackintosh; Aboyne, 15th-19th centuries; Earl of Airlie; and Earl of Rothes, 1411-1778.

New deposits were Lethenty estate papers (Aberdeenshire), 1558-1835*; Massater estate papers (Orkney), 17th-19th centuries; Leslie estate papers (Aberdeenshire), 1521-1779*; Sandilands family papers (East Lothian), 1581-1839*; Hay of Delvine estate papers (Perthshire), 1471-1837; and Orr-Ewing papers (Perthshire), 1494-1919*. The last three are deposits on indefinite loan.

CALENDARS AND INDEXES

Calendars of the following family or estate collections were completed last year: Earl of Dalhousie, c. 1127 to 20th century

(12,710 items); Biel muniments, 1435-1915 (2,190 items); Bruce of Kennet (Balfour of Burleigh) papers, 1358-1698; additional Cunninghame Graham papers, 1503-1914; MacFarlan of Ballancleroch papers, 1481-1906; Pitreavie writs, 1532-1883; Dr Nathaniel Spens papers, 1751-1838.

Calendars of the very large Earl of Airlie, Earl of Eglinton, and Clerk of Penicuik collections will, it is hoped, be typed in the course of 1959.

The following are among the typescript indexes completed in 1958: Justiciary records (Books of Adjournal, vol. 5), 1611-1619; Justiciary records, 1699-1720; registers of deeds in Perth and Argyll sheriff courts, 1809-1900.

JAMES FERGUSSON.

A VOLUME ASSOCIATED WITH JOHN KNOX

It has recently been discovered¹ that Edinburgh University Library has the good fortune to own a book associated with John Knox. It is a copy of *Annalium Boiorum libri septem*, by the Bavarian, Johannes Thurmayer or Aventinus, which was published at Ingolstadt in 1554. The book was probably owned by Knox himself, though his signature does not appear on it anywhere; and no doubt it came to him from George Hay (who died in 1588), whose faded *ex libris* has been deciphered on the title-page, for Hay was often with Knox in the early days of the Reformation.

At the top of the title-page there is the inscription: *decimo septembris 1567 coeptus legi est hic liber a me Paulo Knoxo*, 'septembris' being written above the line for 'augusti' which has been scored through. On p. 835 there is a final inscription, *Lectus 15 ianuarii anno 1567 per me Paulum Knoxum audiente avunculo meo Ioanne Knoxo verbi ministro*. From these inscriptions we gather that this book was read by Paul Knox, the son of Knox's brother William,² to John Knox between 10 September 1567 and 15 January 1567/8.

William Knox is known to have been a merchant at Prestonpans, and, as he was still alive in 1567, Paul may have been staying with his uncle in Edinburgh as a preparation for his university career—he entered St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, in 1568, where he took his B.A. in 1571 and M.A. in 1572. There John Knox would see him when he went to St. Andrews in 1571, and to him, in his will, dated 13 May 1572, he left one hundred pounds 'to be ane help to hald him at the scuillis'.³ Paul appears again, for a brief period, as minister of Kelso and Ednam from 1574 to 1575.

¹ By Mr John Durkan.

² Laing's *Knox*, vi, pp. lxxiii-lxxvi.

³ To support him at the university.

This copy of Aventinus, however, tells us much more. Knox, the born teacher, could not sit quietly listening as Paul read. He frequently caused Paul to mark passages, sometimes by overlining them,¹ and at other times by drawing a vertical line in the margin with the word 'nota'. He also threw out terse, ironic comments from time to time which, possibly upon instruction, Paul carefully entered, in Latin, in the margin. There are more than one hundred and twenty such marginalia (over and above the passages which are merely marked), and the tenor of most of them leaves no doubt that they are the comments of John Knox and not glosses by the young Paul who would be no more than fourteen years of age at the time. It is also worthy of note that Paul's hand, in these marginalia, closely resembles a hand that figures briefly in a contemporary manuscript of Knox's *History*, known as the 'Laing Manuscript'.²

The marginalia in Aventinus reveal interests similar to the marginal annotations in the Laing Manuscript of the *History* where many of them are almost certainly in Knox's hand. Earthquakes, monstrous births, famines, plagues, etc. are almost invariably sign-posted in the margin, sometimes as marks of God's anger (*iustum dei iudicium*). Attention is usually called to cruel and bloody punishments. Proverbs are noted. Misdeeds attributed to priests spark off such comments as, *pontificum audacia, episcoporum corruptio, pontifices Romani classicum clangunt*. On the provisions of a sumptuary law designed to limit luxury among the clergy, he remarks *eiusmodi sumptus respuunt nostri pontifices* (our priests spit at such limited expenditure). At the account of a priest ignorant of Latin the comment is, *quales plerique ex nostris papistis* (as are most of our papists). There is also a marginal warning *notent papistae* which appears in the Laing Manuscript in the form 'Let the Papists observe'.

Women, of course, seldom escape unnoticed. Of Zenobia and Victoria it is noted, *feminae pro imperio dimicarunt*. The murder of Theodopertus by his aunt Brunhylda is *crudele mulieris factum*, and Brunhylda's death, tied to the tails of wild horses, is *iustum supplicium*. When Judith Augusta claims an equal share of the imperial power and will not mind her own business, the comment is, *ut feminae solent*. The statement in the text, *Aqua ventoque magis fluxa est muliebris fides* is approved of in the marginal note, *ingenium muliebre*. When Chuneguda signs decrees in her own name and full titles, but with no mention of her husband, Ottocarus, it is called *mulieris arrogantia* (the 'stinking pride of women').³

Mary herself is referred to twice. At the description of the dire

¹ A practice followed by Drummond of Hawthornden and to be seen in his books.

² Dickinson's *Knox*, i, p. cv, where it is called hand H in the Laing MS. in Edinburgh University Library.

³ Dickinson's *Knox*, ii, 77.

state of affairs during the minority of the two sons of Theodosius after his death the marginal remark is, *regimen quale sub infelici Maria*. When Severinus writes of the Romans, *sacerdotes nihil tum salacius, opulentis nihil parcus ac tenacius erat: paupertum in omnibus oppidis maxima colluvies versabatur*, the comment is, *qualia fuere nostra tempora sub infelici Maria*. By this time (September 1567) Mary had ended her tragic career as Queen of Scots. Can we detect a note of pity in the word *infelix*?

The marginal ejaculation, *O si talia essent nostra tempora* is called forth by the account of a decree requiring the names of candidates for public office to be published so that anyone who knew anything unsavoury about their past might inform against them.¹ At the mention of an edict of Charlemagne to restore the purity of religious worship comes the cry, *O si hodie eiusmodi esset religionis restitutio*. When the view is expressed by someone that it is unreasonable to fight against the manners and fashions of any age the marginal comment is, *quid si nostra vidisset secula*.

The volume apparently passed into the hands of Martha, Knox's eldest daughter, who married Alexander Fairlie of Braid. Her sons, John and William Fairlie, graduated M.A. at Edinburgh University in 1607, and it was one of them, John, who gave the book to the University on that occasion. The Librarian's inscription on the title-page states, *Ego donatus sum Academiae Edinburgenae ab Joanne Fairlie Anno Dom. 1607*.

C. P. FINLAYSON.

SCOTTISH CARTULARIES. Although Mr G. R. C. Davis's *Mediaeval Cartularies of Great Britain* (Longmans, 1958) is a most useful and painstaking work, a few corrections and additions are necessary in the section dealing with Scotland.

(i) The Morton Cartulary, now National Library of Scotland MS. 72, a fourteenth-century register of an important branch of the Douglas family, which was published by the Bannatyne Club in 1859, is omitted. This cartulary is described by its editor as 'probably the oldest Chartulary of lay possessions in Scotland'.

(ii) Since Mr Davis admits inventories to his catalogue, space might have been found to describe the four early inventories of the Morton muniments, preserved in the Scottish Record Office. These are in roll form and belong to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. They are the earliest inventories of baronial muniments in Scotland and are worthy of detailed study.²

¹ Cf. The Book of Discipline, IV (2)—What may unable any person that he may not be admitted to the ministry (Dickinson's *Knox*, ii, 285).

² Morton Papers, General Series, Nos. 77-80. Cf. *Registrum Honoris de Morton* (Bannatyne Club, 1859), i, p. xxiii.

(iii) Another secular cartulary is that of the Scrymgeour family, which is of late fifteenth century date, and is now in the Scottish Record Office.¹

(iv) Under Religious Houses, the cartulary of the Blackfriars of Perth, written in 1548, should have been included. This was published in 1893,² and the original is probably still in the possession of the Trustees of King James VI Hospital, Perth.

(v) There exists in Paisley Central Library a register of feu-charters granted by abbots of Paisley to burgesses of Paisley during the period 1489-1547.³ This also contains miscellaneous material concerning the abbey, including a short register of presentations to benefices dating from the early years of the sixteenth century.

(vi) The unpublished register of tacks of Inchaffray Abbey which is preserved in the Innerpeffray Library, near Crieff, is omitted, perhaps forgivably.

(vii) Mention could have been made of the Culross Abbey transumpt, which contains nine documents covering the period 1217-1341. This has been published, part in summary and part in translation,⁴ and the original is in the Scottish Record Office.

(viii) While one of the most useful features of his catalogue is the attention given to lost or destroyed cartularies, Mr Davis is apparently unaware that in 1872 Cosmo Innes published a list of missing registers of twelve Scottish religious houses, which, he claimed, 'were many of them quoted by writers of the last century'.⁵ This list could be re-examined, for there is little hope of recovering lost cartularies if we are allowed to forget that they are lost. The register of Whithorn Priory, for example, existed in 1504, when a transumpt (now in the Huntington Library, California) was made from it of twelve documents (including four Scottish royal grants of the thirteenth century) relating to the priory's possessions in the Isle of Man.⁶ Not all lost cartularies, however, disappeared at an early date—the Kilwinning Abbey cartulary was known to exist about the year 1800,⁷ and that of the hospital of Turriff about 1732⁸; and both should have been noted in the catalogue.

¹ Standard Bearer Case, *Print of Documents* (G) (19 Feb. 1908), pp. 3, 4, 7.

² *The Blackfriars of Perth, the Cartulary and Papers of the House*, ed. Robert Milne.

³ This appears to be the register mentioned in *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet* (Maitland Club, 1832), p. xxiii, note y.

⁴ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, iv (1925-6), 69-75.

⁵ *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, 192-3.

⁶ *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc.*, 3rd series, xxvii (1948-9), 175.

⁷ W. Fraser, *The Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton* (1859), i, pp. xix-xx.

⁸ *Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club, 1843), 400.

(ix) The following points of detail may also be mentioned. In no. 1156, Inchaffray cartulary, add 'described and re-edited, with other material, by W. A. Lindsay *et al.*, *Charters of Inchaffray Abbey* (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1908)'. In no. 1184, Chapel Royal, Stirling, add 'edited C. Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland* (Grampian Club, 1882)'. In nos. 1138 and 1179, the names J. Spottiswoode and W. Smythe are those of the donors of the volumes, and not of their editors.

ALLUSION TO THE BLACK ROOD OF SCOTLAND IN 1346

The famous Black Rood of Scotland,¹ the treasured possession of Queen Margaret, was beyond question carried off to England by Edward I, and it has always been assumed that it went back to Scotland at the time of the Treaty of 1328, and was captured by the English at Neville's Cross in 1346. Since the present writer has subscribed to this belief in a recent issue of this *Review*,² he may perhaps be allowed to refer to a document—hitherto, it seems, not noticed—which makes it appear doubtful. This has been in print for over one hundred and twenty years in Palgrave's *Antient Kalendars . . . of the Exchequer*³:

*Cruz aurea*⁴ que Memorandum quod vij die Januarii anno regni
vocat^r la regis Edwardi tercii a conquesto xix [7 January
Blakerode 1346] capta fuit quidam [sic] crux aurea⁴ que
Scoc' vocatur la Blake Rode Scoc' de quadam magna
huchia infra Turrim London' per thesaurarium et
camerarios de scaccario et liberata [fuit] per
eosdem domino Waltero de Wetewang' custodi
garderobe ejusdem regis custodienda juxta lat^us
regis virtute cujusdam littere sub privato sigillo
regis prefati morantis inter mandata de termino
sancti Michaelis anno predicto.

In brief, this shows that on 7 January 1346 the Black Rood was taken from its box in the Tower of London and given to the keeper of the king's wardrobe, to be kept 'by the side of the king'. But, according to the usual story, the Rood was at this date in Scotland, and had been there since 1328. There is no good reason to suspect

¹ For a general study see George Watson in *Trans. Scott. Eccles. Soc.*, ii (1906-9), 27-46.

² *Ante*, xxix, 33.

³ i, 160.

⁴ Cf. Watson, *op. cit.*, 30n.

the dating of the document in Palgrave.¹ On the other hand, the evidence for the return of the cross in 1328 is not strong; it is indeed chronicle evidence² of the kind which has been proved unworthy of credit in other matters relating to the Treaty of 1328.³ In the previous article mentioned above, it was suggested that the Rood must have gone back to Scotland, if only in order that it might be available to the Scots for the campaign of Neville's Cross in October 1346.⁴ But now that suspicion is aroused, we ought rather to ask whether we are satisfied about the alleged capture at Neville's Cross. Reference to the admirable study of the history of the Black Rood by George Watson, published fifty years ago,⁵ shows that there is no contemporary evidence of the capture of the Rood at Neville's Cross. On the other hand, Watson cites evidence that the Rood was at Durham by 1383,⁶ where it apparently remained until the Dissolution. The true facts may never be known; but at least it ought to be noted that, if we adhere strictly to record evidence, we shall conclude that the Rood remained in the English royal treasury until 1346, that it was then kept for an unknown period in the king's wardrobe—possibly in order that Edward III might have it with him on the Crécy campaign⁷—and that the occasion and the manner of its going to Durham cathedral are unknown. Further light on its wanderings may yet be found among the records of the English exchequer.

E. L. G. STONES.

¹ Unfortunately, the original MS. has disappeared since Palgrave's day. It consists of a series of 'Memoranda of the Treasury' arranged under regnal years. There is nothing at all suspicious about the text, and internal evidence (the mention of Walter Wetwang as keeper of the wardrobe) shows that the date must be between April 1344 and November 1347 (Tout, *Chapters*, vi, 27). If, for the sake of argument, we assume an error in date, we do not help the traditional story much unless we choose a date after Neville's Cross in October 1346; and even then we have the awkward fact that the Rood is in London instead of at Durham cathedral. I do not believe, however, that the date of the document is wrong.

² *Chronicon de Lanercost* (1839), 261; *The Brut* (E.E.T.S.), i (1906), 255; Warton, *Anglia Sacra*, i, 648 ad fin.

³ *Ante*, xxix, 29, 33; *History*, xxxviii (1953), 54-61, especially the reference to the 'Ragman Rolls' on p. 60.

⁴ *Ante*, xxix, 33.

⁵ *Op. cit.* (above, p. 174, note 1), esp. p. 44.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 44; no reference is given, but the text cited is *Account Rolls of Abbey of Durham* (Surtees Society), ii (1899), 426.

⁷ Which began in July 1346; admittedly rather a long time after January 1346.

The Summer 1959 number of *The Bibliothek* (available from Glasgow University Library, Glasgow W.2. 7s. 6d.) contains an interim list of the abbots or priors of twenty-three Scottish monasteries from their foundation to c. 1300, with their dates of office and refer-

ences. The work is substantially that of the late D. W. Hunter Marshall, but it has been edited by A. A. M. Duncan (History Department, The University, Edinburgh 8) who would welcome addenda and corrigenda. The following houses are covered: Arbroath, Balmerino, Cambuskenneth, Coldingham, Coupar, Culross, Deer, Dryburgh, Dunfermline, Holyrood, Inchaffray, Inchcolm, Jedburgh, Kelso, Kinloss, Lindores, May, Melrose, Newbattle, Paisley, St. Andrews, Scone, Whithorn.

BLACKWELL PRIZE. The next award of this prize, of the value of £60, will be made in 1961 for an Essay on: '“There are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James, the head of this Commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus the King of the Church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is neither a king nor a lord nor a head, but a member”: an examination of the doctrine of “The Two Kingdoms” in Scotland and its significance for Religious and Political Liberty.'

Each Essay must bear a motto only and be accompanied by a sealed envelope bearing the same motto and containing the full name and address of the writer. Candidates are advised that their Essays should be between 10,000 to 20,000 words and should be lodged on or before 1st January 1961 with the Secretary to the University of Aberdeen from whom further particulars may be obtained.

DAVID BERRY PRIZE. A Competition will be held in the year 1961 for a Gold Medal and Money Prize of £50 which will be awarded to the writer of the best essay on a subject, to be selected by the candidate, dealing with Scottish History within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive, provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Council of the Royal Historical Society. Further particulars may be obtained from The Secretary, The Royal Historical Society, 96 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W. 10.

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